

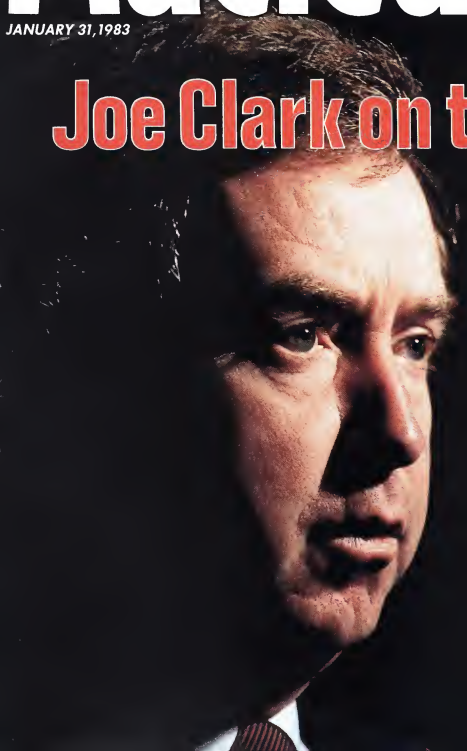
CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

JANUARY 31, 1983

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Joe Clark on trial



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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JANUARY 31, 1987 VOL. 56 NO. 5



The push for arms control

Efforts by the Soviet Union to forestall NATO's deployment of a new generation of nuclear missiles have played the interest of some Western leaders — Page 26



The anguish of the exiles

Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, three million Afghan refugees have poured into Pakistan, where their presence is the subject of acute concern — Page 6

COVER

Joe Clark on trial

Progressive Conservative party delegates arrive in Winnipeg this week to decide the fate of their leader. The story is one of backroom developments spilling onto the front pages, of polls and rumors flying. But after the delegates line up to cast their ballots for or against a leadership review on Friday night, all that will be behind them — Page 14

COVER PHOTO BY PETER BRIDGEMAN



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Hard choice for viewers

Outraged feminists took to the streets last week because of a decision by First Choice, a pay TV channel, to bring adult movies into Canada's living rooms — Page 11



A triumph and a travesty

Two completely different works drawn from the legend of Troy underline the burgeoning strength and occasional frivolities of the Canadian Opera Company — Page 44

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point of
view.

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Web Editor: **Christine O'Connell** (C.O.)

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 Material is published in: *Various Times*—London
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LETTERS

The years ahead

There are two reasons why government should retain its responsibility for prisoners. *100th Congress: Old-age Crisis*, Cover, Jan. 17). The first is simply that this is the only way fitly to achieve portability—a vital consideration for most of us. The second reason, though not as obvious, concerns an equally important factor—business in a paid workers. This is not just a matter of allowing themselves to invest a little of their extra cash in a pension: those who will need it in 30 years are the same ones who need it now. Rather, CFP professionals must be made available for volunteer workers. But what of the homebound who don't have a paying job and don't do volunteer work? I'm pretty sure there aren't any. Most working parents can count on one hand the times they have driven a giggling rookie squad all over town or put on 30 tiny pairs of skates. The mothers who "don't do anything," on the other hand, cannot count the number of times they are "volunteered." —CHARLENE J. BROWN

Forensics

The Croshies: Ineligible

I would like to respond to the story that appeared in the Jan. 17 *People* section in which certain allegations are made concerning the membership of Chasley and Michael Croshie in the St. John's East Federal PC association. You report that Chasley and Michael Croshie were told that they were unable to obtain membership cards from my constituency office because the cards required



Government suggests a night of old age?

my signature in order for the membership to be deemed valid and to enable them to participate in the Oct. 24, 1985, delegate selection meeting. The reason that the membership cards were not issued by my constituency secretary relates to the fact that the issuance of membership cards from my constituency office would be a violation of the guidelines governing the use of those offices as set down by the House of Commons. With respect to the eligibility of the association to participate in delegate selection meetings, the constitution of the St. John's East PC association stipulates that only paid-up members of the association in good standing at least 30 days before the meeting shall be entitled to vote on the selection of delegates. In view of the above, the Croshies were ineligible to vote at the Oct. 21 meeting. —JAMES A. MACLEARY

St. John's East

Joining the Liberals: bizarre

The comment attributed to me in your Jan. 14 issue (*Return for Clark but Leave Free Jay, Canada*), that if John Turner were leading the Liberals I would "quit the Liberals," is misleading. What I said—misleadingly perhaps, but it was taken out of context by an overzealous TV journalist—was that I would support John Turner for his philosophy and outlook, which I consider more conservative than Joe Clark's, if the two were running against each other. My actual statement was "You put John Turner in charge of the Liberals, and I am supporting the Liberals." As for joining the Liberals, after fighting Trudeau's frightful and destructive policies for 11 years as editor of *The Toronto Star* and being pronounced by a Liberal government under the Official Secrets Act, the idea is bizarre. —PETER NORTHINGTON

Toronto

PASSAGES

DEED The Most Rev. Howard Hewlett Clark, 79, the scholarly primate of the Anglican Church of Canada from 1980 to 1976 of penitence, after a long illness, in a Toronto hospital. Under Clark's leadership the church began to permit remarriage of divorced people.

DEED Julian Wilson, 48, ex-officer of former Saskatchewan energy minister Colin Thatcher, after being beaten and shot, in Regina (page 13).

DEED Eric Curwain, 85, the English secret service agent who, in September, 1983, refused from the British Embassy in Warsaw that German planes were bombing Poland, in a Toronto hospital, on Jan. 15, of emphysema complicated by pneumonia. A linguist, athlete and writer before he joined the secret service in Paris in 1938, Curwain recruited anti-Nazi radio operators and Communist undergrounders in Germany, who were sent to Yugoslavia as saboteurs.

DEED Winston Sheffield (Doodie) Weaver, 31, the fast-talking comedian who was one of the argonauts of improvisational humor in the early days of television, of a self-inflicted gunshot wound, on Jan. 23, in Burbank, Calif. Weaver had a number of short-lived TV shows in the early 1950s, worked with headliner Spike Jones, and is perhaps best known for *Goodson*, his recorded speed of a horse race.

DEED Don Costa, 57, the musical arranger and director who gave Paul Anka his start and worked extensively with Frank Sinatra, after a series of heart attacks, in a New York City hospital. Costa interviewed Anka in 1964 and, in his position as an executive with ABC-Famous Records, helped the 19-year-old Ottawa to land a contract for his first record, *Swiss*.

CHARGES Eugene Papan, 74, a former French government finance minister under Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, with crimes against humanity, in Paris. Papan is accused of carrying out Nazi orders to deport Jewish children to death camps when he served as secretary-general of the prefecture of Gironde during the 1940-1944 German occupation.

SENTENCES Eugene (Mercury) Morris, 36, the former Miami Dolphin running back who still holds rushing records which he set while playing in the early 1970s, to 30 years in prison for trafficking in two kilograms of cocaine, and five years for cocaine conspiracy, by Circuit Judge Ellen Gable, in Miami. Morris must serve 15 years before even becoming eligible for parole.

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The Afghan exiles' agony



By Andrew Cohen

Shortly after noon the cold wind sweeps down from the hills with startling force. It whips flags, bushes, tents and refugees' piles of empty kerosene cans. A thick, milky dust rises like a tidal wave and engulfs the plain, making thousands of refugees and people run for cover. The dust stings, a daily nuisance, rises for hours, bringing life to a virtual stop in Baidak, a refugee camp six kilometres from the Afghanistan border in northern Pakistan, home to 150,000 Afghans today.

When the Afghans and their herds of goats, sheep and goats spill through the high, rugged mountain passes after the December, 1979, Soviet invasion of their country, they come one by one in a stream of camps along a thin ribbon of water known as the Swakho River. Three years ago the village of

Baidak lay in a dense green valley teeming with game. While the bleak, distant hills offered herders a hard-scrabble existence, the lush, fertile valley offered a life of ease. Now there is neither. Today, the wildlife is gone, the land is bare, and the livestock has been slaughtered for food. Only the refugees remain in the stark desolation of dust and rock.

Now, as the Soviets step up their tactics of siege in Afghanistan in an effort to pacify the fiercely independent people, more of millions pour into the border camps. Often the refugees are wounded and badly weakened by their trek through the deep snow of an unusually bitter Afghan winter. Once settled, their swelling numbers further strain the fabric of a country already weakened by the more than three million refugees who have arrived in Pakistan since the Soviet invasion. The exiles account for approximately one-fifth of Afghanistan's total population and

constitute the largest refugee group in the world. This winter an estimated 10,000 to 20,000 Afghans a month are straggling into the tent as camps in the northern areas of Baluchistan and North-West Frontier provinces. The question is how many Afghan Pakistanis can absorb before an explosive situation develops.

The Pakistani government, citing strong linguistic, cultural, ethnic and Muslim ties with the refugees, vows that they will always be welcome. "Pakistan has a heart which has a lot of hospitality for those who need it," President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq has said. "We're poor but we're sharing with friends. We will bear the burden but we will continue to hope against hope that they will return." Those promises aside, government officials are privately worried. While the refugees have not yet posed serious social stress in this impoverished country, they are straining local services: water, electricity, schools and health care were barely adequate before their arrival. Despite their friendship, the Afghans would rather remain in Pakistan, preferring to wait the war out there rather than in their own country. And there is little likelihood of stemming the flow of refugees the forbidding 2,400-km mountainous border would make it impossible. "No power in recorded history has ever been able to seal off the border," admits Col. A. M. Rahar, Pakistan's acting secretary of the states and frontier division. "The British couldn't, and we certainly can't. We have no choice but to accept our brothers in faith."

Caught in an impossible situation, Pakistan is continuing to call for international assistance—as appeal Canada recently answered by increasing its contributions from \$11.5 million in food over the past two years to \$17.5 million in food and cash this year. Part of that donation will go directly to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), which will spend about \$300 million on food, clothing, tents, medicine and blankets. Pakistan has allocated \$900 million for cash allowances and transportation.

As the signs of winter appear, it is clear that money alone may not be enough to ease the problem. Many Pakistanis are uneasy about the influx, although few will say so publicly. Landowners complain that the government has confiscated their property for the exiles, offering little or no compensation. City dwellers grumble about rising food and rent costs. Farmers resent sharing access to water and wood. Surprisingly, however, in the past two years the government reported fewer than 300 violent incidents between Pakistanis and refugees in

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AMSTEL BEER

THE CANADIAN LAGER WITH THE DUTCH TOUCH



Nakasone, Trudeau: Two major meetings

arranged, Trudeau's timetable had to be rewritten. Although the two leaders managed two major meetings, Nakasone left for Washington less than 24 hours after Trudeau arrived. Canadian Embassy officials maintained that the two leaders had not shortened the actual time set aside for talks, but the impression lagged that Trudeau's obvious preoccupation with Washington was a commentary on the status of Canada—and Trudeau.

To add to his public relations problems, Trudeau turned down interviews with several prestigious Japanese journalists—and passed up a golden opportunity to greet Canada's trading elite in a vast audience. Instead, he spent 20 of his 70 hours in Japan as a tourist. When he was working in Japan, Trudeau was forced to accompany his pitch for more sales of Canadian manufactured goods with the open acknowledgment that Canada is primarily a resource supplier for Japan's heavily industrialized sector. As Canada's second-largest trading partner, Japan purchases, for one thing, nearly 70 per cent of Canada's coal and about 10 per cent of its timber exports. To prevent those markets against such aggressive competitors as Australia, Trudeau was forced to guarantee that Canada's rich resources will be available to Japan for the foreseeable future. "Canada is probably the most secure source of untapped resource potential on the face of the planet," he told a dinner party. "I cannot foresee the day when we would be unable to meet Japan's requirements."

That pledge accompanied his peddling of his hints to take another look at the CNR's nuclear reactor and pipeline for sale, his direct involvement with communications technology and aircraft. And he insisted that Japan should buy more finished products "to maintain harmony in our relationship." For their part, the Japanese told Trudeau that they respected Canada's high technology capabilities, but there was one hitch: "You can't sit and wait for customers to come to your door."

Still, opposition MPs were scornful of the belabored results. SC Tory rep Pat Carney, for one, simply ignored the opened trade doors and snapped, "Any private sector salesman who returns from an 18-day trip abroad with a black order book would probably lose his job." Trudeau leffily countered with the claim that more sales depend on a great deal more persuasion and personal leg work—than the opposition has shown. Given the stresses erected by his trade tour, Trudeau probably should have followed his own prescription.

—MARY JUNGAS in Ottawa

CANADA

Counting the cost of Trudeau's trip

While Pierre Trudeau braved chaotic Canadian customs controls about his "vacation" last week, his Liberal colleagues noisily tabulated the political price for his just-completed Far East tour. As a public relations ploy, the 18-day junket through seven nations was a disaster felled by the prime minister's fits of pique and his public disregard of several of his best-drawn human rights records. As a trading mission, however, the expedition opened doors for Canadian entrepreneurs, wonned bilateral business interests and focused attention on Canadian products. Trudeau's last stop, a low-key visit to Japan, spotlighted many of the troubles and triumphs of the tour. At home, the opposition predictably pined in on the breakdown, demanding to know the results of his Tokyo rounds. Trudeau, in turn, could only counsel patience—and that triggered what one senior aide called "the worst press in six months."

Despite the opposition charges, however, Trudeau's three-day visit to Japan was crucial. He arrived on the eve of Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's visit to the United States. Since the United States is running a \$28-billion trade deficit with Japan, Na-

kasone has been under mounting pressure to open the notoriously restrictive Japanese market to U.S. products. Canada, with its \$1.2-billion trade surplus with Japan, fears that any move to supplant the United States and the equally tight European Community would curtail its Canada's exports. Over a sample dinner and a follow-up talk with Na-

The lack of tangible results from an 18-day junket has given the prime minister his 'worst press in months'

kasone, Trudeau bluntly stated his worries about a easily trade shift to the newly elected leader. Said Trudeau: "He told me he understood my concern. It's fair to say he gave me assurances there would be no such diversions." The key conviction, which was sweet music to the ears of the business community, carried more public relations and practical private tips. Since Nakasone decided to go to the United States after the Canadian schedule had been



Environment protest: some call it an idea

A hard choice for viewers

By Susan Hilley

The past years of the famous Playboy Bunny logo were looking distinctly limp by the end of last week. After a furious five-day debate and demonstrations in 10 cities, the familiar American symbol of respectability, middle-class purity was under attack from all sides. At issue was the announcement by First Choice, the national national pay TV channel, that it will not sell pure on weekend evenings when it starts regular programming with a deal with Hugh Hefner's Playboy empire. First Choice promises viewers translated sex and seduced dirty jokes manhandling on plot lines in such programs as *Orbit* at the Office or *Playmate Playoffs*.

Predictably, feminists, their male and female supporters and voice-conscious politicians expressed outrage. At rallies and on national television and radio, a countrywide debate was launched. The question is, there any real differences between pornography and what First Choice is delicately calling "erotic"? Stud Muffin Barlow, head of Ottawa's Royal opportunity office: "We are not settlers. We are not against true erotica. But in true erotica there is a sense of sensuality. Nobody is exploited."

Barlow started last week's national protest almost unwittingly when she called some feminist friends to complain about First Choice's giant. Almost overnight she sparked

a movement. "It is pornography we object to because it debauches sex," says Barlow. Added Debbie Foxent of the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre: "This same attitude that makes Playboy respectable makes 'huff' movies [in which females are actually murdered on-screen] respectable."

At the eye of the storm was Don MacPherson, a former CBC vice-president and television producer who now heads First Choice. Throughout the week the seared MacPherson and Phyllis Somers, a vice-president of programming, saw their company's grab for early subscribers depicted as side event assault on a nation. "Nobody censors Playboy," pornography says more, "it's granted. And, he argued, if people did not like porn, they just don't

MacPherson and Barlow: viewers do not have to buy it



have to buy it. Still, by week's end two cable companies serving Toronto and eastern Ontario reported increased subscriber demand for First Choice. In Ontario, First Choice had been losing ground to the regional pay-cable outlet, Superchannel, and took the low road to boost business. MacPherson insisted, however, that while the Playboy deal was only announced a month ago, the contract had been under discussion for some time. To sweeten the deal, roughly \$80 million is to be spent in Canada next year making Playboy productions (according to formal with Canadian actors, directors, technicians, scripts and clothing).

One Toronto talent agency has already formally asked female actors on its list if they will appear nude or simulate sex. Several performers, however, are furious with the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which refused First Choice, for, said one, "letting U.S. porn pass for Canadian programming."

One of the 580 protesters who showed up at the Toronto last week was Penny Reid, a former star of the *King of Kensington* series. "We were promised lots of work by the CRTC when we got pay TV," she said. "Is this what it comes to?"

At the Toronto rally last week, and at a similar one in Edmonton, several women publicly tore up their Radio's dearest store credit cards to protest the Radio family's significant financial interest in the offer. The family owns 90 per cent of Baton Broadcasting Inc. of Toronto, with another 10 per cent held by the Shattuck family. Baton, in turn, owns Glen-Warner Productions Limited, the Toronto, the lavish production house that will supply much of the Canadian production work for

Playboy

Playboy. Meanwhile, Don MacPherson, emerged from two hours of talks with the CRTC to say that he had been keenly asked about Playboy, although Communications Minister Francis Fox (a Toronto) said that was not so. However, during the week Fox had noted his outrage. He began with outright denunciations of pornography. He ended by making a careful distinction between "adult" programming and pornography and admitted that he regretted his strong statements earlier in the week. "Because they gave First Choice free publicity. Now, it appears that despite the public outrage it will be off with the clothes and on with the show."



After the roadblock, rifles, shotguns, revolvers and a T. trench bucket

The arrests on Highway 99

For skiers driving out of Vancouver along Highway 99 into the resort town of Whistler last Thursday morning, the highway flanked in orange hard hats and safety vests were a familiar sight as a road where rockslides—and closures—are common. However, the 18 casually dressed men at the roadblocks had something other than roadblock signs in mind when they flagged down a pickup truck, carrying three men and two women, as it entered an isolation zone between two barriers. In reality, the "highway workers" were more officers. With Whistler-based skiers safely stopped outside the zone, the special squad moved in and quietly arrested the five later, they were charged in connection with a starting series of bombings. With the arrests and the seizure of an arsenal of large-caliber handguns and rifles, the police claim to have broken up an extremist group. The charges relate to the bombing of a B.C. Hydre substation on Vancouver Island last May 31, to a conspiracy to sabotage an Alberta military base, and to three fires in the Vancouver area on Nov. 25.

The police had been watching the five potential suspects for seven weeks. They finally moved in because they feared the group was about to strike again. The charges include conspiracy to rob a B.C. train, armed car, to use explosives at a powerline and an icebreaker construction site, and to sabotage aircraft, radar and fuel tanks at the Canadian Forces base at Cold Lake, Alta. The base is the site of planned tests of the U.S. cruise missile, whose guidance system is manufactured at Litter Systems Canada Ltd., in Toronto, where a bomb blast

last October injured seven people and caused \$5-million damage. A group calling itself Direct Action claimed credit for that dynamite attack as well as for the Vancouver Island substation bombing that caused \$4.5-million damage. In a prepared statement last week senior Insp Geoff Davis declared that in addition to the B.C. charges, "some members of this group will be charged with the bombing of the Litter Systems plant in Toronto."

Four of the suspects arrested in British Columbia—Brent Taylor, 25, Gerald Harnish, 26, Ann Elmes, 26, and Robert Blesso, 26—shared the same home in New Westminster, while Douglas Stewart, 25, lived in Vancouver. The literature received, police say, was extremist in nature. Taylor has been a familiar figure at left-wing demonstrations in Vancouver for years. In November, 1977, he

NCP's Davis (right) means targets?



led Opposition Leader Joe Clark in the back of the head with a cross-glye Clark was the fourth prominent political target within a month in Vancouver. The self-styled Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist wing) claimed responsibility.

Last week's arrests took place near a B.C. government explosives depot where 30 cases of dynamite were stolen last July. "We believe they [the suspects] were on their way to target passive at an abandoned farm north of Squamish," said Davis, who was in charge of the surveillance and the arrests. He stood before a table loaded with enough equipment for an army combat team—or a terrorist group. The haul included four handguns, two semi-automatic rifles and one machine-gun, as well as shotguns, hunting rifles and camouflage jackets. According to police, there was also an R.T. trench bucket rigged to carry explosives. The police said that the confiscated material is only a fraction of the tonne of explosives, weapons and hundreds of pounds of ammunition seized.

In a newspaper Direct Action cited political justification for the bombings. B.C. Hydre was attacked for environmental reasons and Litter for building parts for nuclear weapons. After fires at Red Hot Video stores, a group calling itself the Wampana Five Brigade condemned the stores for selling pornography. When the five suspects appeared in court Friday morning to face 15 different charges that included bombings, conspiracy to commit further attacks and robbery, they appeared relaxed in police-supplied tank jumpsuits. They smiled and made clenched-fist salutes. Lawyer Stan Gauthier was critical of the atmosphere surrounding his clients' case. "The police are giving out a good deal of information," he said, "and attempting to try this in the press." This week the police will put their case in court.

—MALCOLM GRAY
in Vancouver

BASKATCHEWAN

Killed in the second attempt

In May, 1982, John Wilson was wounded by an unknown assailant on his fashionable north Regina home. Last week a gunman took a dead-end aim. At 5 p.m. Friday, Wilson was found beaten and shot to death in a pool of blood between two cars in the family garage.

Wilson's murder sent shock waves rippling through the city. As the co-writer of famous Saskatchewan energy minister Colin Thatcher (the son of co-senator Ross Thatcher), Wilson had regularly been in the news throughout a bitter two-year divorce and child-nobody battle with Thatcher. The divorce ended with Wilson, who has since remarried, receiving a \$750,000 settlement, one of the largest in Canadian history. Wilson was also awarded the custody of the youngest of her three children after a lengthy court battle.

Unlike the first shooting, when Wilson was wounded in the driveway by a shot fired through her porch door, this time police are working with a firm description of the assailant. A witness who was walking by the Thatchers' white station house early Friday evening said he heard a shot and saw a man with curly long hair and a beard running from the garage.

Wilson was murdered just when her life was finally returning to normal after the protracted child-custody battle. At one time, the Thatcher 10-year-old son, Bryan, disappeared for a year after a court had awarded him to his mother. And Thatcher had begun to enjoy political success. He was appointed energy minister last year when Grant Devine's Conservative swept to power.

But ironically Thatcher's political fortunes soured last week as well. Just five days before his ex-wife was murdered, he resigned from the cabinet for what he said were "family and financial" reasons. Known for his personal independence and outspoken nature, Thatcher was more likely asked to resign by Devine after disagreements over patronage.

But the effect of Thatcher's resignation paled in comparison to the impact of the Wilson murder. The White House is just across the street from the Saskatchewan legislature and, after the long estrangement during the public divorce, there were few people who felt that they did not know John Wilson. An ex-shocked neighbor remarked, "I saw her last Saturday and she looked and very happy. Everything was just fine."

—DALE KILPAT in Saskatoon



At the barricade in Fort McKay: fighting the same old battle

ALBERTA

The band that pushed back

When 25 residents of Fort McKay first gathered to decide how to protect their children from logging trucks scheduled to start travelling through their tiny northern Alberta community, the talk quickly shifted to the myriad grievances and frustrations that have assailed the community since the oil boom hit 30 years ago. Before long one band elder, Eric Lucardo, 65, stood up and said, "Let's set up a roadblock. They won't leave us in jail."

Accordingly, at noon on Jan. 15 almost half of the 250 person settlement, 80 km north of the oil sands mining centre of Fort McMurray, laid plywood and lumber across Highway 60 and erected a sign that read, FORT MCKAY TRUCK STOP. They took their children out of school, brought them to the barricade, erected a totem, and lit a campfire. "This is our last desperate stand," said band chief Dorothy McDonald.

Meanwhile, Northern Forestry Products Ltd., the Fort McMurray company that had planned to use the road to log a burned-out area north of Fort McKay, sat in the middle, counting its lost revenue and wondering if it should go to court. The white community of Fort McKay watched cynically, convinced that the ineffectual McDonald had protested once too often. Residents wondered why other native bands in the area were more capable than the Fort McKay band (the town and band chose different spellings of working successfully with resource developers and government. And they criticized the government's refusal to prosecute the as-

sum lawbreakers, suggesting that it was "one of us" they would be looking up. "What a joke," proclaimed unemployed truck driver Don Perkins. "You can't stop progress. How come they didn't shut up when a cement truck was being driven to build their school?" Nevertheless, after six days McDonald told the protesters to dismantle the blockade. Under an agreement worked out the previous night in a meeting with two provincial cabinet ministers, the community agreed to a one-week trial in which the band handled traffic control. More importantly, both sides will appoint a mediator to meet this week to set up a framework for dealing with the other outstanding grievances: substantial logging, pollution of the Athabasca River, inadequate water supply, lack of a health clinic and protection of traditional hunting and fishing ways in the face of resource development.

"I think this is a great victory," said McDonald, 25, the province's only woman band chief. She is married and the daughter of Chief Phillip McDonald, who ruled the McKay band for 30 years before his death in a snowmobile accident, in 1978. "Finally," she added, "somebody out there has listened to us." Nevertheless, McDonald, who is credited with forcing the provincial government to hire Susan Lee, to court last year for talking the Athabasca River, will remain vigilant. "If necessary, we will do it again. We're not going to back down. We proud of my people."

—GORDON LEITCH in Calgary, with Peter G'Nall in Fort McMurray



Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed, better not to be seen or heard

COVER

Winnipeg '83: Joe Clark on trial

By Carol Goar

It will take only 90 minutes to decide the political fate of Joe Clark this week. Friday evening, 2,500 Progressive Conservatives from across Canada will form 30 long lines on the concrete floor of the Winnipeg Convention Centre for a vote that will determine not only the future of their 43-year-old leader but the ability of their bitterly divided party to reunite and offer Canadians an attractive alternative to a long succession of federal governments. The delegates will be handed a ballot with the simple question: "Do you wish to have a leadership convention?" Voting will start at 6 p.m. (central time). Then the ballots will be whisked to a back room, where a committee of volunteers will count them under the watchful eye of a professional accountant. If all goes according to plan, the results will be announced at 9:30 p.m.

Those results will contain one of three messages. They could confirm beyond question the party's faith in

Clark to fight the next election. They could show he is so unpopular that he must call a leadership convention. Or, even worse, they could fall into an inconclusive grey area, leaving the party to tear itself apart for years. In a classic and characteristic understatement, Clark told *Maclean's*: "A lot of people think leading the federal Progressive Conservative party is easy. It isn't easy."

As the delegates decide whether the former prime minister should lead the party into his third election, their consciences have little to do with policy or philosophy. The story of Winnipeg is one of developments in back rooms, spilling onto front pages, of polls and rumors flying out of control. It is the story of a decent, awkward man facing judgment before a disorienting party, a bemused public and the unforgiving eye of the television camera.

Clark had clearly become frustrated by the incessant barrage of onscreen headlines, whispering the dilemma ahead. It was also reinforced by the head-busters in his own party who are si-



lently waiting in the wings for their own crack at the leadership. Said Clark: "It's annoying...having someone bawling from the sidelines." The bawling is not likely to stop even after Friday night's strategic vote. The last time Clark went through the exercise—on Feb. 27, 1981—he emerged with 66.4 per cent of the delegate support. The numbers game will be even more critical this time.

Worries: Although almost every poll on Clark's leadership shows that he will get the 61-per-cent endorsement officially needed to hang on to the job, the soundings within his own party also reveal a haunting undercurrent of dissatisfaction—ranging from 23 per cent to 45 per cent. Adding to Clark's worries was a Gallup poll released last week

that struck at the heart of Tory fears about Clark renouncing to fight another election. The Gallup showed that Clark could lose a federal election if John Turner were leading the Liberals. Not only that, but it indicated that the Conservatives could beat Turner with either Alberta Premier Peter Lougheed or Ontario Premier William Davis as leader. Although the notion of polling the future is suspect and the margin for error effectively had Clark and Turner in a dead heat, the Gallup is merely another part of the numbers game that has sparked turmoil among Clark's critics.

For Clark, the road to Winnipeg has been long and rocky, with each week bringing a new crisis. Although unofficially he has been campaigning ever



Clark and Ontario Premier William Davis: a disorienting party, a bemused public

since he managed to secure his disappointing 66.4-per-cent endorsement at the party's last general meeting two years ago, he has been running at top speed since October. Clark has spent many weeks and almost every weekend making speeches, attending fund-raising dinners and privately voicing pro-specter delegation across the country in community centres and private living rooms—often accompanied by his wife, Maureen McTeer (page 38).

Boomer: Meanwhile, in Ottawa the ground was shifting ominously beneath him. Clark's former finance minister, John Crosbie, raised eyebrows in November with his veiled call for a leadership convention. Then, a few days later, the first widely circulated poll on Clark's leadership was released. The survey was conducted by a New York pollster for unidentified business interests. It showed that the preferred Tory leader was Peter Lougheed. Throughout November, bravado broke out at a handful of delegate nomination meetings. One of the worst was in the Montreal riding of Belair, in which Clark opponents alleged that 16 "punks" or steel-toed boots, working for Brian Mulroney—Quebec's own pretender to Clark's throne—look over the meeting.

In December the situation deteriorated further when the party caucus erupted—during one of Clark's frequent absences—over his leadership issue. House Leader Erik Nielsen, whose links with the Clark family began in a tiny rural schoolhouse in northern Alberta, where Joe Clark's mother was

seen his teacher, stood up unapologetically at the weekly meeting of MPs and senators and made a stirring appeal for loyalty to the leader. He threatened that several MPs were destroying the party in order to advance their own ambitions, and he set off a furious debate. Although MPs are expected to be silent about caucus discussions, embarrassing details of the fight soon leaked out. By mid-December the caucus was indeed badly and bitterly split on the leadership issue. News Scotia MP Elmer Mackay received as many as 42 letters from his colleagues urging Clark to call a leadership convention.

In January a new spate of polls and problems exploded around the leader. On Jan. 7 it was learned that National Party Secretary Diane Stratus resigned from the party executive, complaining that she could not live with the hypocrisy and manipulation surrounding the convention. Then, a pitched battle developed between Peter Worthington and the party executive when the former editor of *The Toronto Sun* was rejected as a delegate. And last week young Tories in Nova Scotia made original headlines by accusing Clark of "stealing a march" and condemning him for conducting a leadership campaign before the caucus was even officially open. Pro-leadership review advocates also criticized Clark for fear of using wire-free mailing privileges to send out material boosting the leader.

Still, Clark has not been without ammunition. After a Gallup poll reported in January that the Tories under Clark

had the support of 44 per cent of Canada's undecided voters, compared to 31 per cent for the Liberals under Trudeau, the Opposition leader began to stress the party's unity theme. His friends were quick to seell the theme into a clever Former federal Tory leader Robert Stanfield publicly urged Conservatives not to vote for a leadership review. His endorsement was followed by an enthusiastic declaration of loyalty from Ontario Premier William Davis, who, despite his repeated denials, is believed by many to have an eye on the federal leadership. Then, in an unexpected move, Mulroney, the 43-year-old president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada and one of the most attractive prospects for a replacement for Clark, announced that Clark would have his backing in Winnipeg. Mulroney made it clear, however, that he was merely delaying—not shelving—his own political ambitions.

Loyal The Clark forces were counting on the support of most of the seven Tory premiers and a core of loyal MPs out of the total of 180 in the Commons. But Newfoundland's Brian Peckford remained stubbornly noncommittal, and Alberta's Peter Lougheed pointedly will be voting Liberal during the convention. While Clark's closest supporter, John Epp, insisted that 50 MPs were backing the leader, Helmut W. Otto, a senior, an outspoken promoter of a leadership convention, claimed that only 30 would vote to replace Clark's friends also included a network of powerful backroom operators, such as former chief party fiscal Friday Philip MacDonald, National Campaigns Chairman Senator Lowell Murray, Clark's 38-year-old principal secretary, Peter Harder, former MP and now staff adviser David MacDonald and the party's former communications director, Jodi White, now a consultant for the Canadian Petroleum Association. Other allies were the party's former national director, Paul Gillingham, and its former executive with Imperial Oil, and Montreal lawyer Marcel Duce, one of the party's chief Quebec organizers.

Drawing a profile of Clark's opponents was more difficult. They fell into several camps. For one, there were those who publicly professed deep and irreconcilable ideological differences with Clark, like flamboyant Edmonton multimillionaire Peter Cockington (page 18). One Clark adviser estimated that the group sharing these views made up about 15 per cent of the party membership. Then there were the fervent advocates of capital punishment, ultra-right-wing free entrepreneurs and opponents of bilingualism.

Another opposition group consisted



Defiant Camp: the party has been attacking its leader for 60 years

of men who have leadership ambitions themselves. The only Tory who publicly hinted that he might be going in that way was John Crookshank in mid-November. The 51-year-old Newfoundland magnate called for a "careful assessment" of Clark's leadership. But Tory back room bosses with specialisation about others with secret designs on the party's job still, the most frequently mentioned prospect—Lougheed, Mulroney, former Toronto mayor David Crookshank, Davis and former Ontario treasurer Barry McKaugh—avoided the limelight in advance of the Winnipeg meeting.

Still another anti-Clark faction was made up of those who felt cheated or ignored by Clark. Predictably, they were not easy to identify, but it was clear that many entered his party's fold only to find themselves disappointed. John Deveshko, such as former party president Robert Coates, were less than pleased with the way they were treated during Clark's term in prime minister. Finally, many Tories, while they like Clark personally, believe that his chances of winning the next election would be slight, especially if the Liberals soon select a replacement for Trudeau. They took the position that a leadership convention was needed to clear the air. One of the most candid spokesmen for the group was Elmer MacKay, who was Clark's number of regional economic expansion. "Joe Clark has always been far too meek," he said in an interview. "I have no personal animosity toward Joe Clark. None

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Winnipeg MP Jean Yves Lortie, pollster Greg Goss says the right number was hard to decide

pollster or declaring themselves undecided when they first knew how they would vote. For another, many delegates were expected to make up their minds—or change their minds—on the convention floor in Winnipeg. "When you get people in the same room and drinking out of the same bottle, that's when they make up their minds," said longtime Tory operator Dorian Camp.

Most of the polls showed similar regional patterns. Toronto, western Ontario, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were trouble spots for Clark. But the leader appeared strong in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and British Columbia. Alberta and southwestern Ontario were more difficult to read. Both sides claimed to be ahead in those areas but they acknowledged that the vote would be close. Quebec became a safe Clark territory when Mulroney chose in his support. But even before Mulroney's endorsement, the Clark forces were well organized under Duce that they appeared well ahead. There was lingering uncertainty over Quebec, however. Meanwhile, disputes broke out in ridings across the country over whether

local candidates to help defray delegates' costs actually constituted legitimate financial help or were bribes designed to secure pre- or anti-Clark votes. Nowhere was the competition more virulent than in Quebec, where Duce first admitted that Clark loyalists were giving more than \$100,000 to cover their expenses. Jean Yves Lortie, leader of the anti-Clark forces in the province, acknowledged that his organization was spending travel money and free hotel rooms. And there were reports of similar payoffs in Toronto and Edmonton.

For those who went to Winnipeg, the Conservatives offered few "undilemmas." 30-minute workshops. Shopping the Liberals, fighting the NDP, campaigning to win, and the PC Alternative. Delegates had the chance to vote for a new president to replace Montreal lawyer Peter Blais, but the five candidates were, in the words of one member of the party's executive, "an uninspiring lot."

Many Conservatives blame their party's chronic leadership problems on its long, dry spells in the Opposition. "Give them 10 years in power and they will be as excited as one man's family," Camp insists. Clark was counting on the pres-

pect of power to rally the party around him in Winnipeg. The Tories simply cannot afford to waste their time and energy in internal squabbles, he maintained, when the polls show that victory is within their grasp. "Party unity has to be an appeal," said a senior Clark strategist before the voting. "We won't win it [Friday's vote] on the basis of his [Clark's] personal appeal. We have to convince people that leadership isn't the chosen of the convention."

Although Clark will take some solace from friends at the convention helms, he can take little comfort from the fate of his predecessors. The Conservatives have a history of sticking their leaders that dates back more than 60 years. Every Tory leader since Robert Laird Borden has ended his career under strong pressure to resign. Almost as powerful as the force of history is the deep yearning within the modern Conservative party for the elusive perfect leader who will combine the eloquence of a Churchill with the warmth of a Sir John A. Macdonald. Joe Clark is clearly not that messiah. Queen's University political scientist George Perlin, for one, suggests that the party has spent its entire existence searching for another Sir John A., the country's legendary first prime minister. "And when you get new leader turned out to be an ordinary mortal, he was subjected to constant criticism until he was forced to resign," Perlin says. The pattern recurs every generation. Borden, one of the party's most respected leaders, was eventually ousted under attack by the party's reform French-Canadian wing. He resigned, ill and exhausted, in 1903. His successor, Arthur Meighen, fought throughout his career to stifle the unrelenting discontent among the ranks. However, Bedford Bennett was humiliated by the Great Depression, but history also shows that the overbearing businessman was unpopular with his own cabinet.

Hope: Between Bennett and Elzabeth, the Tories rolled through two long-known leaders, both of whom failed to inspire or unite the party. John Bracken and George Duce. Clark's in-house professor, Robert Stanfield, seemed as the sorry tale is a recent speech. "We have seen a long succession of leaders elected with great hope. But within a short time those hopes evaporated, in part at least because Conservatives look for a messiah somewhere else."

The burning ritual Clark undergoes this weekend is a result of a tradition, which states that at each general meeting the voting delegates shall be asked if they want a leadership convention. Neither the Liberals nor the New Democrats put their leaders on trial so fre-



quently or so reluctantly. The Liberal party rule book provides for a leadership review only at the party's first general meeting following a federal general election. The New Democrats simply desire their leader as a member of the party executive. Like all other parties, one of the leaders is up for grabs at every National convention. But unless another candidate steps forward, the incumbent is quietly affirmed by acclamation. Clark sympathizers complain that their system rewards dissent and divergence. For months before and after the leadership review vote, Tories concentrate as little but the personality and perceived shortcomings of their top man. Repeatedly, the leader is compared to other contenders in a mythical race that is never staged. And the media revel in the struggle. As Camp says, "The Conservatives have made life difficult for their leadership by this constitutional procedure, which keeps the press warm as cold winter nights."

To complicate the process even more, the Tory leadership review process involves every political commentator and backroom strategist to write his or her own rules about what percentage of the

vote the leader needs to "win." Clearly, the 51-per-cent figure set out in the constitution is not enough. Any leader who could not inspire more than a simple majority would preside over a deeply and dangerously divided party. One of Clark's closest advisers, in fact, calls any reading between 52 per cent and 66 per cent a "slipshod handshake." The "51-per-cent" number is difficult to establish. Most analysts have set the two-thirds figure as the bare minimum Clark needs in Winnipeg. And some commentators insist that he should not go into another election with less than 75 per cent of the party behind him, especially since Mulroney threw in his support unilaterally. "We have handed over to the media the interpretation of what con-

stitution as acceptable vote," said one frustrated Tory strategist. "It's time to review the review procedure. We have created a situation that is going to cause continuing problems."

Charles Clark himself agrees. "There needs to be a capacity for a party to exercise control over a leader," he said. But he added, "The other principle that's very important is that the party has to do its job—and, when the two conflict, there has to be some relinquish of the device. But that's a matter for the association to decide. The rules are there, and I play by the rules." One obvious way to change the ground would be to stop publishing the percentages and merely announce whether or not the leader had captured a majority.

But the figures would inevitably leak out. Another widely discussed change would be to require the Liberal system and hold only one leadership review between elections. Several proposals to that effect were on the Winnipeg agenda.

Those who blame the party constitution for Clark's troubles also do not always fail to mention that one of its chief architects was a much younger and more ruthless

Joe Clark. The current leadership review procedure came out of the turbulent 1960s. When Clark, then in coalition with John Diefenbaker's leadership was tearing the party apart. One of the hotbeds of dissent was the Progressive Conservative Student Federation, of which Joe Clark was then president. At that time, when almost every young Tories held a vote of confidence in Diefenbaker. His leadership was ratified by a vote of 31 to 30. Clark dutifully reported to the full party that the student federation was supporting Diefenbaker. But the majority of the student body did not agree and decided that Diefenbaker should be told how precarious his position was. Clark, as the 28-year-old president, led the assemblage task of confronting "The Chief" with the bad news. A Diefenbaker law student, at the time Clark screwed up his courage and marched into Diefenbaker's Parliamentary Hill office. The mission was a failure. Diefenbaker, a master of subterfuge, was not there. "He had departed," recalls Clark with a knowing smile.

Two years later the "Damp Diefenbaker" crusade gained momentum again. It surfaced in a

bloody battle for the party presidency between the incumbent, Dallas Camp, who was calling for a leadership review by secret ballot, and former St. Arthur Mayor, the Diefenbaker candidate Clark was a Camp supporter. Not only was he instrumental in Camp's 584-to-542-vote victory but he also played a key role in getting the 1966 meeting to adopt a resolution calling for a vote of confidence in the leader by secret ballot. It was a hard-won victory with lingering bitterness. "Feelings ran so high at the annual meeting that there were occasions when physical blows were exchanged," recalls Diefenbaker by his biographer Robert Coates.

It took eight more years for the principle of mandatory leadership review to

be formally enshrined in the Conservative constitution. Camp says that his original proposal to proceed beyond a recommendation after he left the presidency in 1969 "Drew the road somebody created this monster," he said. "It shows what constitutions are capable of doing."

As each new poll has hit the press and each new rumour made, Clark has been under scrutiny, insisting that he would get a ringing vote of confidence in Winnipeg. If that happens, the month should still feature a new budget statement and a proclamation for an election. But, if Clark's poll in the weekend will launch the Conservatives into the frenzy of an all-out scramble for the leadership. When Clark checks onto the podium at the Winnipeg Convention Centre at 7:15 on Friday evening, it will be his last chance to inspire and unite the party before the vote. That gives him the prerogative say. The last one is the delegates'.

With Statistics Group in Vancouver, Gordon Lague in Calgary, Gale Atkin in Regina, Peter Corbett-Gordon in Winnipeg, Neils Beer and Monica Gaudin in Ottawa, Anne Byrne, Montreal, David Fisher in New Brunswick, Michael Chagnon in Halifax and Richard Joseph in St. John's.

Who's who in Winnipeg

Among the 5,000 to 5,500 delegates, others, names, journalists and other hangers-on in the enormous Winnipeg Convention Centre this weekend is *Who's who* will stand out in the crowd. Some of the prominent Conservatives to watch:

Brian Mulroney: Although the shrewd-looking Irish *Quaker* stayed an elaborate discretion, he lay the party's current leader Joe Clark last December, Mulroney is seen by many as the Conservative party's prince-in-waiting. His unexpected endorsement came after a seven-month, cross-country speaking tour, which he used to launch the 1986 Mulroney's profile as it did to raise party funds. In proceeding to support Clark, however, the bilingual president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada has been careful not to rule himself out of any future leadership contests. And his supporters are heading to Winnipeg to vote for a leadership succession.

Finley MacDonell: The senior assistant to Joe Clark has the distinguished air and polished good looks of a senator from central Ontario—in fact, he has



Mulroney, complicating life for the Tories

long waited a seat in the upper chamber. Well liked by almost everyone, the 60-year-old Nova Scotia-born broadcaster served as chief of staff to former party leader Robert Stanfield and has been busy polling strong, earning six friends and many money for the party—and for Clark. He played a key role in orchestrating Mulroney's endorsement of Clark.

Alvin Grogg: Born outside the Conservative party, the president of Demos Research is recognized as one of the most astute pollsters in the country. Clark first discovered the 30-year-old polling whiz in the mid-1970s and called on him to start an in-house polling group. Grogg undoubtedly has a good idea of what Clark can expect in Win-

ipeg, but he is keeping his fingers to himself. In 1979 Grogg set up his own company, Demos, which he immediately calls "the most successful research company in Canada."

Peter Fackelman: When Edman Ott owner and multimillionaire Peter "Puck" began endorsing the country last summer declaring that he was the man who could amend the Liberals and "make Canada great again," Conservative officials did not know whether to laugh or cry. Fackelman, 61, who insistently made front-page headlines last spring as the victim of a house-pullout drama, could make his own exposure by jumping into the political arena as president to Joe Clark's throne. Late last campaign appears to have lost steam. Fackelman will generate interest—but possibly not more than that—in Winnipeg.

John Morrison: As chairman of the Conservative Tax Committee (it proposes a review of Clark's leadership), Morrison leads a small but very hardy band of anti-Clark militants. The 30-year-old Torontoan, who calls himself a free-market public relations consultant, is the source of a barrage of letters and brochures urging delegates to demand a leadership convention. His name rarely appears on the mailings, and he refuses to divulge the source of his funding

Conservative officials are annoyed and at the same time relieved by his subversive tactics. Some Clark supporters believe that Morrison's strategy, combined with his lack of public profile, helps their cause.

Leslie Murray: The senior and Progressive Conservative National Campaigns chairman is known in Ottawa circles as the "senior free conservative." On recognition of his private party of the Quebec party's president, a list of Ottawa property to qualify for an Ontario seat after Clark appointed him. Murray is one of the most powerful behind-the-scenes players in the Conservative party. He and Brian Mulroney are classmates at St. Francis Xavier University and still keep in touch. But Murray's loyalty to Clark is unquestioned. He is Catherine Clark's godfather and has known Clark since they both worked for former justice minister E. Jean Robit, who tried to succeed John Diefenbaker as party leader in 1967. As the leader's closest confidant, he drafts notes for Clark's annual speeches and reports to him Ottawa apartment by letter or in person to plan strategy.

Under Murray's 25-year-old Montreal half brother established his claim as a political operator in 1976 when he helped engineer Claude Wagner's second-place finish against Clark on the final ballot. His new legislative tactic



Crombie: the tantalizing whiff of power

was to stake his return of pre-Wagner delegates in a bluff, Gas, motel and—after keeping them away from the other camps—unleashing them at the last moment to flood the voting booth. A century aside to Joe Clark's Liberal, Lortie turned against his old boss in a run for the Quebec party presidency in 1978—and lost. In 1981 Lortie returned to Hall for the annual meeting, by now a staunch holder of Brian Mulroney. With another band of loyalists, Lortie led the Quebec charge in the losing effort for a leadership succession. In Winnipeg Lortie will find that St. Basil's face is a long way from Hall. But, if anyone has a reason for deliverance, it is Lortie. He bears watching whenever smoke fills a room. Lortie's foil is Que-

bec is the redoubtable Clark loyalist David Crombie, the Tory provincial party boss. Dumas headed a special committee to find, elect and fund anti-review delegates to vote in Winnipeg. The task for that generous gesture is estimated at more than \$100,000. Dumas, a married son of a Conservative, is called for an exception to money that has been paid to delegates.

David Crombie: In Winnipeg the 46-year-old MP from Toronto's progressive Rosedale riding. Crombie will be found, with his wife, Shirley, quietly conferring with delegates at the back of the convention hall. Once again, the affable former Toronto mayor will conceal the ambition for a larger role that began so modestly. First elected in 1978, Crombie was a war-torn, low-level post in Clark's cabinet. He did not get one Clark made Crombie (minister of health but pointedly excluded him)—and every other Toronto-based minister—from his all-powerful inner cabinet. Crombie has been previously defeated over seven times. He has travelled the country regularly, taking rare votes to win. Diefenbaker loyalists who do not share his Tory outlook. If Clark has to face a leadership convention one day, Crombie's name certainly will be there at a strong contender—a close family member, emotions and memories of the serious heart attack he suffered in 1980 hold him back.

—CAROL GOAN in Ottawa

The delicate games of delegates

In consultation across the country, better business folks have gone on for months to select delegates for this week's Conservative meeting. The деле is two ratings:

While Toronto MP John Bosley is trying to secure up votes for his leadership challenge this week, at least two senior delegates from his own riding will be voting against Joe Clark; another two are undecided, a time some people use when they do not want to be publicly disloyal. But another Bosley nor his riding association in Don Valley West appears embarrassed by the difference of opinion. "We have always had a history of independent thought," says the MP.

Indeed, the split is not seen as a repudiation of Bosley. Rather, it is a reflection of Joe Clark's classic problem in Toronto—a city that likes nice guys but knows when they finish. Says delegate Bob Roche, a former Terry engineer in Don Valley West: "He's seeking personal. We just want to win."

And they do not only want to win Don Valley West, they want to win the country. The small businessman and professional in the riding are tired of economic uncertainty, of what one calls "the liberal reign of error." But many of these also feel that Joe Clark, contented in business, could not win a beating loss. In parts of the affluent riding he is still seen as an establishmenter.

According to riding president Luc Steno, a school board consultant and delegate, "Toronto likes to think of itself as sophisticated. People don't want to elect someone who tries to tell his drink will flow." When Don Valley West chose its Winnipeg delegates in November, Steno was leaving toward review. Now she is not so sure. "Maybe Joe deserves another look at the can," she says. "Maybe a leadership struggle now would be destructive." It would certainly have repercussions in Don Valley West, where only last May the riding executive hosted a \$180-a-plate fund raiser for former leadership candidate Brian Mulroney which drew a respectable 100 people.

It is obvious to many Ottawans observers that Bosley may be rewarded for loyalty with a sub-



Mockup: the hard-hat phone.

not past if Clark ever becomes prime minister again. Meanwhile, Bosley argues that voters are tired of "the cult of personality" and will elect a party next time for its platform, not for the way its leader talks or walks. So far, not many of his neighbors appear to agree.

Reaching a deal requires some very adult night of hard, if opponents in Nova Scotia learned that had losses when they tried to ensure that the six delegates from the Central Nova riding would not all support the stand of their

Bosley: nice guys deserve drink hat



not, Elmer MacKay, who has tried a review of Joe Clark's leadership for months. But the trench backfired, and at least four, possibly five, of the delegates are likely to vote "no for Joe."

The tactic was as underhanded as it was transparent. Clark lay low, but by party staff spokesman Ted Foley, quietly called a meeting last October to establish a new chapter of the Nova Scotia Progressive Conservative Youth (NSPCY). With each riding entitled to send two youths to annual party meetings, the clear aim of this inaugural session was to select two young Tories who would vote against leadership review.

So carefully was the organizational meeting concealed that Central Nova's riding association president, Elmer MacDonald, considered to be anti-Clark, only learned about it after it happened.

And so the mysterious conclusion began in the Saint Harbour high school. On the first vote a self-nominated pro-Clark youth—Steven Hadden—was selected. Another pro-Clark candidate tied for second choice with Terry Beaver, who said he would decide when he went to Winnipeg. Two fervent members of a small pro-Clark faction of voters were at the front of the hall, and one of them, Rob McCleave, publicly grilled Beaver for five minutes on his intentions. Beaver would only say that he could not decide what was best for the party until he attended the convention—and then he won by a large margin.

The following scheme then went even further astray. Party headquarters in Ottawa ruled that the Saint Harbour youth delegates would not be recognized because their selection came just one week before the senior association met to choose its delegates. The senior association then elected both parties anyway but turned the tables on the pro-Clark Beaver. Beaver, the underdog, became a delegate, and Hadden was named an alternate. The strategy had turned into a comedy of errors. But the middle-term Tories might profit from the realization that Beaver and Hadden, while they differ politically, are still the best of friends.

—SHAWN BILLY in Toronto, and
MICHAEL CLEGGON in Halifax.

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Clark: the politics of leadership

Conservative Party headquarters has been a hive of frenetic activity in the final weeks leading to the party's Winnipeg general meeting this week. But Joe Clark's office was on a sort of strike two weeks ago as he sat down with *Maclean's* Ottawa bureau chief Carol Goss to talk about the party's electoral prospects, senior roles, the kind of government he would offer Canadians and his party's electoral leadership problems. Clark was extremely at ease, speaking calmly and thoughtfully, with his arm draped across the back of his sofa. But he admitted that the turmoil of the past few months has taken its toll. *Excerpt.*

Maclean's: I would like to know how you feel about going to Winnipeg. Is it like being on cruise? Is it like having a holiday?

Clark: You taught me to enjoy it. I like having a leadership. I would be very pleased to meet over with [it's] a presentation for me and for the party. It starts on Friday from the job that we've got to do—we're speaking here at the leadership news report. It threatens to undermine the very real good that could come from drawing the party together. I have been an active member now for a quarter of a century and, when the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada comes together, it gravely draws us together. I hope we can at the end of the month and that it will be a launching pad. But, personally, sure it's a process-pain. You can't go through all this stuff trying to fight the enemy in front of you when you have four or five people behind taking shots at you.

Maclean's: Did you forget about it in the Bahamas?

Clark: By and large I think I did. I went down to get some time off and to see some friends. My mother was with me. It was a good time. But the leadership didn't really come up very often, except when I ran into Canadians I guess the frustrating thing is that the Winnipeg meeting has become the sort of current definition of the Progressive Conservative party in Canada as I encounter everywhere. That isn't our definition. Our definition is that we're the next government of the country, and I want to get the party's and the public's mind back on that fact.

Maclean's: When you also participated in the 1960 meeting at which the secret ballot to renew the leadership was finally introduced?

Clark: I was active in that annual meeting, as I have been in all of them.

Maclean's: Supporting the secret ballot?

Clark: Supporting the secret ballot.

Maclean's: A ballot on the leadership, which eventually grew into the process in the constitution.

Clark: ...which I also support.

Maclean's: Which now amounts to a lot of just one of the reasons?

Clark: One of the reasons and not really something that I am appreciatively comment on, on this day in January. I believe that a review mechanism is necessary. There needs to be a capacity for a party to exercise control over a leader.

Maclean's: At every single annual meeting?

Clark: Well, that's the question that will be before the meeting, but certainly the principle of a review is a very important one. The other principle that's very im-

'We're the next government... and I want to get the party's and the public's mind back on that fact'

portant is that the party has to be able to do its job—and when the two meet, there has to be some redress. I guess, of the device. But that's a matter for the association to decide, and I want to emphasize that, because the rules are there and I play by the rules that are there.

Maclean's: Do you agree that there is a "Tory Spedroff"—an informal discussion that manipulates itself in almost constant questioning of the leader and, generally, pretty open questioning of the leader?

Clark: Without any doubt, we have been out of office a long time and we're more accustomed to the behavior of a party out of office than we are to the behavior of a party in office. Obviously, it is true that we attract more independent spirit, and I think that's part of our strength in the country. Thirdly, there is a temporary condition in the country where individual groups are trying to achieve their goals by increasing their influence in political parties and national institutions. We saw that in the United States and we are seeing it in Canada now.

Maclean's: Single issue groups?

Clark: Or single perspective groups. And that's happening more now than it has

in the past. I don't think I will endorse. I think it is entirely legitimate for individuals with strong views to join a party and advance those views, but I think that if there is an attempt, by organized forces to do that, it strikes pretty close to the heart of the fundamental responsibility of national parties in the country, which is to draw people together. I have never regarded political parties in Canada as having, primarily, a purpose of ideology. Their primary purpose is one of bringing the country together.

Maclean's: What would be different if you were in government?

Clark: There are now two so-called national parties that carry ideology as the *sine qua non*, although they're not sure what that is, and the Liberal party. By becoming a party of ideology, the Liberals have lost their status as a national party. So we would move away from ideology as a determining factor in politics.

Maclean's: How would it provide a disincentive to the average person?

Clark: You would have a tax system that had incentives in it. If I'm right, they would be growth in the economy. More people would have the incentive to invest here and they would be working on making the most of their investments rather than worrying about what the government was going to do to them, so there would be jobs. Jobs are obviously the major preoccupation now. The reason would be different, too. When the federal and provincial governments met, they would be meeting to agree more often than meeting to fight.

Maclean's: One of the things Pierre Trudeau once said to me about Quebec. He was saying with the Parti Québécois in Quebec probably leads to more trouble than you know you're getting into. How would you reply to that?

Clark: How would we get into more trouble with Quebec and with national unity than Pierre Trudeau has?

Maclean's: Well, it could be.

Clark: And that might, if his policies stay in place. That is again a live possibility. To put it in its blindest terms, Quebecers voted "no" in a referendum because Pierre Trudeau led to them. He told them there would be a more flexible federation. Now a lot of people on the margins believed him, and that wasn't the truth. He brought in, instead, a unitary Constitution. He has the paper credit.

Maclean's: He owes from Quebec. But you have to remember the kind of Quebec he came from. It was an intellectual Quebec. It was well-to-do, it was bilingual, it was quite isolated. There is a new Quebec emerging. He came from the Quebec of the 1960s. Pierre Trudeau,



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with Quebec and with national unity than Pierre Trudeau has.

Maclean's: You could do a pre-emptive strike. You could just call a leadership convention.

Clark: I could have done that a long time ago, and the reason I didn't is that I have presided over this party after a leadership convention—after winning it—and we spoke rather about some of the mutual difficulties of bringing the Conservative party together. Those problems are more acute after a leadership convention—a leadership convention calls forth those differences. The differences are emphasized rather than the common purpose, and you spend a great deal of time trying to pull them out. I spent a year and a half last year. We don't have a year and a half to waste this time. Look back at the past year. That advice to call a convention was given to me a year and a half ago. Had I taken it, we would not have won the Constitution, we would not have passed the Liberal reform on the budget, we would not have won the energy debate bill—at least we have been able to delay the very bad government. These things would not have happened if the Conservative party had been running a leadership convention or trying to lead itself after a call, rather than conducting the Opposition. And what we have to do now is the work of preparing for the next election, consolidating the gains that we've made, going through the doors that are open to us. We can't do that if we're looking inward at yet another party squabble. If the annual meeting decides it wants to do that, that's their decision, and I'll be a candidate in the leadership convention and I will win it. But we collectively pay a very heavy price.

Maclean's: Could it be that people just want to see new faces?

Clark: Sure. In the very short term there is a yearning for that. One of the realities I have to deal with is that, despite all the evidence, a lot of people think that leading the federal Progressive Conservative party is easy. It isn't easy. It is a very complicated task that I know a great deal about that. I did six or seven years ago. I've done it before and I know it, and there are much more important things respecting to a yearning for a fresh face. This is not just a question of how a particular organization makes its internal differences. I mean we disagreed in the 1960s, but we are not simply having a decision about who should be president of the Red Cross. We're dealing with the question of the ability of the only alternative government available to pull itself together, to get on the federal scene, to get Canadians out of a dreadful mess. We have come a long, long way as a party in the past several years. We have become a national party, and that's all in jeopardy now.

More than just a political wife

After addressing a Toronto riding association last week, Margaret McTeer was applauded by an admirer: "I hope you'll be in Winnipeg next week," he said. "She seems to have all her guns out." Already moving on, McTeer said over her shoulder, "I don't like guns." Amusement, then, it responded. Her turned to flash her signature and swept out. That brand of rapid-fire repartee was a fisherwoman's reminder of the skills McTeer, 50, has accumulated in the nine years that she has been married to Joe Clark. At no time, however, will her persuasive talents be more needed than when McTeer accompanies her husband to Winnipeg this week for what could be his political Waterloo.

After an uneasy start in PC back rooms, some insiders now consider McTeer Joe Clark's greatest asset. Others deride her as a self-centered, hard-driving feminist. But she has indisputably helped to steer Clark through a cascade of dangerous political waters that has, at times, threatened his career. Throughout the winter leading up to the week's convention, she has been at his side almost constantly as he cruised the country appealing to the party faithful for support. But as matter what transpires in Winnipeg, McTeer has staked out a single position in Canadian political life: first lady. Her frequent appearance as the loyal wife at Clark's elbow, McTeer has never stood in her husband's shadow. And more and more she is facing the limelight alone.

Last week she was featured in a flustering portrait on *CTV's The Journal*. She also addressed 150 women at 25 McGill, a fashionable Toronto women's club, in the first of two rather stiff and far-reaching discussions on women and high technology. Although the speeches did not elicit her listeners, McTeer herself did not disappoint: the members of her audience came primarily to see a celebrity—and that is what they saw.

At one time many traditionalists in Clark's camp did not consider Margaret a valuable Tory weapon. Rather, they looked upon her as a liability because she had the ear of the Tory leader and often countered their advice. But the very thing that bred her disfavor, when she was wrongly informed as a political cartoonist as riding her husband like a horse, has turned into a prized performer who appears to have achieved a vision of her own. Gone are the blue-

jean sundress and the bandanna. In Toronto she was stylishly reborn in a navy-blue dress and cream jacket, perfectly turned out, from her stock, dark head down to her black pointed leather pumps. Gone, too, are the days when she would shock the Parliamentary Women's Association by introducing motions that women should be compensated for



McTeer: out of the shadow into the light

sacrificing their careers to their husband's political jobs. And she no longer turns up controversy with her liberal views on abortion and the reform of rape laws. For the past year McTeer has switched to safer topics—women and technology and her recently published book, *Resisters*, against history of the official history of Canada's Indians. Also on the scene is her noted hostility toward journalists, as she, in turn, has been treated more sympathetically by the media. A loyal and sensitive person who battles at the first sign of any threat to herself or her husband,

McTeer still smartens from being depicted as hard and bossy. "I think that is part of the positive idea of what a feminist is—tough and hard and self-reliant and all that," she says. As well, the young women who grew up in a farm community in the Ottawa Valley and married a man from the Alberta foothills inevitably faced criticism about being unaffiliated. "It wasn't always fashionable to be what we are—perhaps people thought we should be more glamorous," says McTeer. "But I think people have come to realize that, first of all, we aren't boring klutzes from the backlands. We have a lot of ability, a lot of presence, and we have natural wit."

Perhaps the main factor in McTeer's emergence as an important force is her unshaking support of her mate, over a period in which Clark suffered succession defections from senior ranks at the party. Her friends, in fact, are amazed that she was not used to even better political advantage, particularly in two areas where the Tories are weak—in Quebec and among women. Lamenting one organizer from the ill-fated 1980 election campaign, she really shines in Quebec. She speaks a glowing French and projects a warmth that the party could really use there. "During that campaign McTeer expressed strong private resentment about attempts to keep her from speaking on her own. Far from seeing her independence as a liability to the party, she insists, 'I think it's one of the biggest pluses, quite frankly.' Ironically, while some party strategists worry about the label 'Joe McTeer,' she says her husband's unwavering support shows his true strength. "The reality is that to have a strong woman, you need a very strong man," she argues. "Not only does he have to deal with it himself, but he has all this peer pressure from people who say that's not the way it's done."

McTeer has indeed departed from the conventional mould, but she remains in essence a political wife whose world still revolves around her husband and their six-year-old daughter, Catherine. That may seem like a paradox for some feminists, but not as unpleasant one if the Conservatives are returned to power. Says an friend, "If Joe becomes prime minister again, she will love it. She will be the chairwoman of 24 Hours, and she will do it superbly." Whatever Margaret McTeer does, one thing is certain: she will do it her way.

—GILLIAN HACKETT in Toronto



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ahhhh...that's better.



Gromyko (left), Genscher and Kozyrev cleverly trying to woo the Germans away from the Atlantic alliance

WORLD

The battle for arms control

By Michael Posner

With the new year scarcely a month old, the dominant issue in international affairs has already become clear. It is arms control—specifically, whether modernized, state-of-the-art nuclear weapons will be deployed in Europe during 1993. That deployment—44 cruise missiles and 108 Pershing II—was ordered by NATO in 1979 and, unless U.S.-Soviet arms talks now under way in Geneva suddenly show dramatic signs of improvement, delivery in Europe will begin by December.

Still, in Western diplomatic circles there is mounting fear that NATO's commitment to deploy may yet be undermined. That concern, a recurrent theme in political conversations in Europe and Washington, springs from multiple sources. It has taken on special significance in West Germany, where the first Pershing II are scheduled to be installed. The pro-nuclear Christian Democrats, led by Helmut Kohl, are waging a fierce election battle against the anti-nuclear Social Democrats, led by Hans-Jochen Vogel. Kohl now leads in the polls, but the outcome on March 5 is far from certain.

At the same time, the new Soviet leader, Yuri Andropov, has launched a vigorous and clever peace offensive designed to woo Bonn away from the At-

lantic alliance. Moscow has offered to cut back its current nuclear arsenal from 600 to 100—the same number of missiles now aimed at the Soviet Union by French and British forces—if NATO abandons its deployment plans. The Kremlin has not yet specified whether its new systems would be dismantled or simply moved out of the East Mountains. Nor did Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, winding up a four-day visit to Bonn last week, specify whether the missiles removed would be obsolete ss-4s and ss-5s or the more modern and deadly ss-20s, each carrying three warheads.

But it is a measure of Andropov's skill in exploiting Europe's vulnerability

Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo and his West German counterpart, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, last week separately endorsed what is being called "the open solution." That process would allow both the Warsaw Pact and NATO to maintain limited numbers of intermediate weapons, while negotiations toward zero continued. In Washington Genscher's remark from the same office was viewed as an attempt to shore up his Free Democratic Party's sagging popularity. But even British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, a faithful exponent of the Reagan administration's strategic line, conceded: "One hopes to achieve the zero option. But in the absence of that we must achieve balanced numbers."

Prossely that sort of agreement, it was re-nounced last week, was informally arranged last summer in Geneva by U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze and his Soviet partner, Yuri Kozlovsky. Without the approval of either the White House or the Kremlin, the two men met together what Nitze called "an exploratory colloquy," which would last 30-40 war-

Kohl pro-nuclear platform



heads during the West to 200 and NATO cruise missile warheads facing the East to 800. The slight U.S. advantage would be offset by Washington's consent to eliminate the Pershing II, which is capable of striking Moscow 30 minutes after launch from West Germany.

But the tentative agreement was short-lived. Kozlovsky reported to Nitze in September that Moscow would not accept it. The Reagan administration took the view that the package was flawed but that secret back-channel talks should continue. Thus, last week, before flying to Geneva for the resumption of negotiations, Nitze insisted that he has "full authority to pursue a negotiated agreement." Publicly, the administration remains committed to the zero option, and there is no prospect of concession—at least until the West German election results are in.

The White House seems to have realized that it is losing the propaganda edge to the Soviets. The Andropov carrot—Moscow will cut its number of weapons if the West does not deploy—has been matched with Gromyko's stick, any new NATO deployment will destabilize the nuclear balance. The Nitze-Kozlovsky pact was simply unforgotten rumor, and any interim solution, as Nitze said last week, was "absolutely unacceptable."

To counter these tactics, the administration is preparing its own public diplomacy offensive. President Ronald Reagan himself called an impromptu news conference last week and he professed optimism that a weapons accord can be reached. And his chief strategic arms negotiator, Guy Edward Roemer, emerged from an Oval Office session to declare that the United States will show flexibility if Moscow will.

Washington has also been lobbying the U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops Conference to draft a strongly worded draft pastoral letter on nuclear war. The document, scheduled for distribution this summer, says the moral force of the church squarely against deterrence—the foundation of Western defense policies. At a high-level Vatican conference last week, the U.S. bishops recalled prayers from European colleagues to temper the wording.

For the moment, the White House feels—and the Kremlin's in Bonn. Tossing his boots, the wily Gromyko last week suggested that the Soviets and Germans live "under the same roof." Chancellor Kohl obviously let it pass but it is a later speech he insisted that "there should be no doubt about our belonging to the West." The March 6 vote is widely seen as a decisive judgment, and the military and political stakes for NATO and the West are immense.

With Sam Gilbert in Bonn.

THE UNITED STATES

A family dream turns sour

When he was first elected to office in 1967, Boston's Kevin White epitomized the new breed of U.S. urban leader aggressively liberal and passionately committed to weakened conservatism that, after an unprecedented 15 years in power, White dreams for a prosperous and harmonious Boston free from corruption have soared. Opponents charge that a corrupt election machine has replaced White's wanted decentralized neighborhood network of "Little City Halls" which managed the needs of residents. And last week he struggled to fend off the probings of federal and state investigators who apparently

machine demands obligatory donations from civic employees. In one notorious incident, employees were allegedly asked to give a total of \$152,000 to the mayor's wife's birthday for a 45th birthday. The award-winning Boston Sunday Globe last week summed up public anger when it declared in an unusually harsh editorial: "White retains the arrogance of power. But he has lost the humility to retain the power himself."

White once modeled himself after New York's John Lindsay, another reformist mayor who favored decentralization and lasted after a briefer stage. He is still widely credited with having



White: "The overwhelming arrogance of power"

been evidence of other possible irregularities. For the embattled 59-year-old mayor, who until recently had dismissed the forces, a 1979 columnist's column prophesied: "My political machine is going. I'm just not sure whether it is going to go forward or back up and run over me."

While the mayor has not been charged with any wrongdoing, his administration has come under close scrutiny. The U.S. department of housing and urban development (HUD) states that \$1.9 million in federal funding was misapplied in Boston and that another \$4 million is missing. In addition, there is recurring criticism that the White

baronies like South Boston turned the city school system into an armed camp. The burning issue nearly cost White the mayoral race in 1975, when he only narrowly defeated his opponents. He became depressed and withdrawn. Gradually, he seemed to adopt the ironfisted style of another highly-born, former Glasgow mayor Richard Dwyer. White dated his Little City Halls and in their place built a network of ward organizations, or "corner boys"—friends of the mayor who give jobs and contracts to those who helped bring in the White vote during the 1979 election. According to former deputy mayor Richard Riley, White "tried to make sure he

would like again without having to work." But in recent years charges of misconduct arose beyond simple patronage. Following the 1972 elections, the *Boston Globe* recently revealed that two of White's top aides, James A. Prevost, a former Miss Boston and now head of the city's office of consumer affairs and licensing, and fund-raiser Theodore V. Amatore, had bought an elegant \$200,000 North End townhouse from the city for \$1. While the deal unleashed a storm of criticism, neither side has yet been prosecuted. In other towns, fear members of White's team have been convicted of extortion, bribery and tax evasion. And recently a former city budget director and precinct captain, William P. McNeil, was indicted by a federal grand jury for falsifying financial records in order to obtain a \$36,500-a-year pension—the largest ever paid a city employee.

In the case of Kathryn White's \$122,000 birthday gift, White claimed that the money was hastily returned to city employees after a police inquiry. But that did not prevent an investigation by the state ethics commission, which reprimanded the mayor for violating state conflict-of-interest laws. Then, last September the local U.S. attorney, William F. Weil, opened a federal grand jury investigation into White's extrajudicial activities. Not only that, but the *Boston Globe* and *The New York Times* reported that \$18,500—collected in 1980 for the mayor's election year—was paid to White's wife and son, who work as political consultants. And, in another instance, the longer of the war chest, White's father-in-law, William J. (Mother) Gulon, paid \$4,800 to "Speedy Photographer," which was, surprisingly, located at White's residence.

Regardless that the birthday gift was part of an elaborate plan to launder political funds extrajudicially the mayor. For Bostonians they were simply a reminder of halcyon days when Mayor James Michael Curley ran city affairs with a flourish. But the city is now in hospital from stress-related exhaustion. Kevin White came out swinging. He accused the press of conducting a vendetta and hired a battery of lawyers to stave legal action against *Wolfe's* office for allegedly leaking information to the media. White accused *Wolfe* of conducting a politically motivated campaign that lured "barons, honesty and integrity." Despite the uproar, White is contemplating a fifth term of office—the last election in November 1981, while his current standing in recent polls reflects widespread anger over the activities of his machine, the mayor has fought and was taught battles before.

—DAN WILLIAMS in Boston.



Inspecting the scene of the shooting: a tragic case of mistaken identity

BRITAIN

A dark stain on the Bobbies

The unshakable reputation for London's police force began to fade last week when Stephen Waldorf woke up in hospital and uttered his first words in six days: "The boys dressing of a man, cold lager." The 36-year-old film editor had been shot five times by police on Jan. 14 when he was mistaken for a fugitive from the law. Waldorf is expected to survive his severe skull, chest and liver injuries and can sue the police for \$450,000, according to lawyers. The affair is one of the blackest stains on the fading reputation of the British Bobbies, which has increasingly eroded with the rise of urban crime. Home Secretary William Whitelaw, Britain's top cop, pressed "truthful" critics against those responsible, adding that "nothing like it must happen again."

The shooting, which erupted in the middle of an evening rush hour, seemed

more Christmas while awaiting trial on charges of burglary and the attempted murder of a policeman. There are some facial resemblances between Waldorf and Martin, but what caused the crucial error was the presence of another passenger in the car: the 26-year-old former girlfriend of Martin had been the subject of a police stake-out. When she screamed that marksmen had made a mistake, she later reported, a voice shouted: "Who is it, Sarge? Who have we shot?"

Police issued a public apology, and an inquest has been ordered. One officer has been charged with attempting to soothe Waldorf, another with attempting to arrest if found guilty, they could face life in jail. Meanwhile, inquiries will center on how police could depart from guidelines governing the use of firearms by London's 4,300 street policemen (another 10,700 are watered).

Whitelaw said Parliament that he believes the calling rules are "stringent and explicit." But as the good-will messages flowed into Waldorf's hospital room—coming from Paul McCartney—the police, who have come increasingly under fire for their tactics (notably in deal-ings with blacks), were pacified away that the words of a *Shogun* Prince obtained, "something unforgivable" happened — CANA. KENNEDY in London.

Waldorf: 'stronger rules'



KAMPUCHEA

Vietnam resumes its subtle assault

On Dec. 25, 1978, roughly 10,000 Vietnamese troops swept into neighboring Kampuchea and took control of the entire nation. Since then the Vietnamese occupation force has kept the country in an iron grip, despite intense international pressure—including a recent personal appeal by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau—to withdraw. Then, last Dec. 26, the fighting forces of the new anti-Vietnamese Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea staged a rare counteroffensive. They seized the village of Young Daingm and held it for two weeks. It was a heady victory for the coalition, which includes such disparate figures as the former Kampuchean leader Prince Norodom Sihanouk and remnants of the murderous Khmer Rouge regime. It was also an epiphany: Vietnam's powerful military machine easily retook the village and decisively displayed the strength of its hammerlock on Kampuchea.

Hard as it was lurching a high-powered domestic campaign to discredit the coalition, while internal dissension threatens to destroy the new group before it has any real chance to establish credibility. Support for its leader, Sihanouk, has been flagging since the coalition's sponsoring committee is a Association of Southeast Asian Nations. The Chinese have offered to arm the Khmer Rouge, and Singapore has quietly provided aid to the forces of Sihanouk, who heads the non-Communist Khmer Rouge's Khmer Liberation Front. But even so, the coalition's support for Sihanouk seems to split the group even more, the Vietnamese have provided the prime with details about members of his family who were involved with the Khmer Rouge were in power between 1975 and 1979.

For all their current strength, however, the Vietnamese may yet face a threat from forces well beyond Hanoi's control. Maoism and China have recently been making it improve their long-strained relations. And, as part of the prior for closer diplomatic ties, China is demanding that the Soviets cut off their \$1.5-billion annual military aid package to the Vietnamese. Should that happen, it would be virtually impossible for Hanoi to finance its campaign. Meanwhile, the uneasy relations of Southeast Asia return the unhappy status with which they have been burdened for almost 40 years—helpless victims on the shifting seas of superpower conflict. □



Guatemalan troops on patrol: guerrilla activity is spreading throughout the region

Reagan renews his support

The boy laid in the Reagan administration's earliest days last week of El Salvador's human rights record was "progress." The U.S. administration admitted that the right-wing Alvaro Magaña government does not have a good reputation for defending human rights. But Washington added that enough improvement has been made on the way to warrant U.S. congressional approval of a \$200 million package of economic and military aid to keep one of the United States' favorite clients in the hemisphere aloft for another year. And, despite criticisms from church and civil liberties groups arguing that the Magaña government record is "more than over," Reagan's assistant secretary for human rights and international affairs, Elliott Abrams, maintained, "You have to see improvement and encourage it."

The White House's renewed commitment to El Salvador took place at a time of heightened guerrilla activity throughout Central America. Salvadoran guerrillas have captured 15 villages in the past two weeks and in one action last Thursday they confronted 4,000 government soldiers, pursuing them with mortar fire and killing seven.

Meanwhile, in Guatemala, sporadic fighting in Quiché and Alta Verapaz provinces surrounded with the state department's announcement that it will sell the government of Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt \$1.1 million in arms. The sale is not a large one but it does end an arms embargo imposed by the Carter administration.

in 1980 because of human rights violations. The decision was made despite widely reported massacres of Indians by government forces in 1982.

For many in the Reagan administration, the rise of the conflict in Central America is a double-edged sword and the ever-present hard line of the left-wing government of Nicaragua. As a result, in another move last week the Pentagon scheduled a major joint military exercise in neighboring Honduras for Feb. 1, less than 15 km from the Nicaraguan border. The six-day maneuvers by 4,000 Honduran troops and 1,000 U.S. support personnel are meant to teach the Honduran defense techniques. But the proximity to the border has angered the Nicaraguans, who claim that the exercises are so not of intimidation. Responded a state department official: "You could interpret it that way. The Hondurans have asked for our support, and we have given it to them."

None of the region's combatants seems ready to negotiate. And, despite last-month protests over human rights conditions, the Reagan administration's continued hard line has not backtracked. It would appear pressure to the southern allies to halt armed conflict. The decision not doing so only the right-wing governments but their rebel foes to contain the spread of local conflicts or risk a wider regional war.

—JARED MITCHELL in Toronto, with correspondent reports



Bob's so good at his job
you wouldn't know
he was mentally retarded.



Until you saw
the way some people
treat him.

It's a fact that most of us look down on people who are mentally retarded. We label them, thinking they have little to offer.

And yet, there's more to mentally handicapped people than just the handicap. They love and laugh. They cry and feel pride. Many hold jobs and all are born into families—just like us.

Every mentally handicapped person is entitled to the same human respect we show each other. Unfortunately, far too many of us see mentally handicapped people in a limited

way. This puts a limit on their potential. And makes them feel they don't belong.

But if we would change our attitude, and be more accepting, mentally handicapped people would feel they're an important part of our society. And they'd be free to make those achievements and contributions from which we all could benefit.

For everybody's sake, see the person first and the handicap second.

Your attitude towards people who are mentally retarded can be their biggest handicap.

Presented by national voluntary groups in co-operation with Health and Welfare Canada.

While women across Canada were gearing up to protest the airing on pay TV of programs from Hugh Downs's Playboy Channel, one of the world's best-known pornography stars, Marilyn Chambers, appeared in Vancouver to promote her new X-rated film, *Up 'N Clooney*. Predictably, many anti-pornography activists were critical of Chambers when she appeared on radio and television talk shows. Chambers, the 33-year-old former model who got her start posing on *Playboy* magazine in 1973, had little patience with many of the remarks. "Personas as a concept is good," she said. But women who become militant "are just reverting back to a total male, domineering role. A woman who becomes very aggressive becomes very masculine." Chambers herself is starring in a new pay TV series called *Love Vixen*. *Flamenco Nights*, which she says will be carried by Playboy. She is also singing in Las Vegas with a country and western band named *Haywire*. But, though her new pursuits may be more legitimate than such films as *Behind the Green Door*, Chambers does not apologize for her career. *Green Door* alone has grossed \$70 million since it was released in the same week as the very first *Playboy*, and Chambers has pocketed 15 per cent. "People put me down for doing what I do sometimes," she said. "But, if I had to work for a living, I'd be in trouble."



Marilyn Chambers: 'people put me down'

her comeback steadily. She is singing jazz because she likes to entertain and because she likes Ed Dickson. And, when the album of Harold Arlen songs is released this spring, Clooney will prove that she can render *One for My Baby* and *Happiness Is a Thing Called Joe* with the best of them. Clooney makes it sound easy. "It's a good singer," she says simply.

Clooney with Dickson: a sudden switch to jazz



Fictional spy-master John le Carré is as tight-lipped about his latest project as any of the "Jens" he has created. In a recent tour of Britain, with Hollywood director George Roy Hill (*The Sting*) in tow, the British writer insisted on slanking his mission in secrecy. After leaving the well-funded capital, however, he gave off delicately some of the mystery. He said that he had been scouting movie sites for a screen version of his upcoming book *Little Drummer Boy*—to be published in New York and London this March. Based on the 1950 Israeli conflict, the story takes place in Britain, Germany, Lebanon and Israel. The plot hinges on the search for the killers of a small Jewish boy in Germany and concludes as a note of empathy with the Palestinians. This time, le Carré has finally dropped his legendary Secret Service hero, George Smiley. His new protagonist is an Israeli, but to deflect any charges of partisan bias, le Carré says that neither side will like the picture he is painting.

Liberal Energy Minister Jean Charest cherishes his reputation of being forthright. But even he wanted to stop reports of a handsome last work with compensation in which he tossed off such unvarnished political truths as "we're in terrible shape." The meal took place in a private parlour, necessary dining room and was closed to the press. Out of Charest's sight but within earshot, however, Tim Neumeier from The Canadian Press and two other reporters stood to the side of the room's open double doors as the minister told the gathering: "We wouldn't be today because people are against us. The good thing is that the Tories are happily destroying each other." As for his chances of replacing Prime Minister, Charest explained: "If my name was John Charest and I was born in Ontario, I would have a chance." On his way out of the room, it dawned on Charest that his remarks would soon become public knowledge. "He was pretty unhappy," says Neumeier. Charest must have realized that his latest quip would change his name to read:

—EDITED BY BARBARA HIGHTON



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NEW
YORK
LIFE

The new mystery in an unfolding affair

By Carol Bruman

With \$3 million of the city's tax revenues invested in short-term notes at Greyhound Trust Co., Halifax Mayor Ron Wallace had good reason to worry about the future of the Toronto-based company last week. He was not alone. Across the country large and small investors alike were still seeking information about the Baymonte financial details of the sale and results of 13,000 Cadillac Parc apartment units in Toronto last fall. The transaction involved a \$300-million rapid turnover at the properties, setting off a storm of controversy and leading the Ontario government to launch a lightning takeover of Greyhound, Crown Trust and Seaway Trust on Jan. 7.

For its part, the Ontario government offered little clarification of the affair. Provincial Consumer and Commercial Relations Minister Robert Eagle limited his comments in the legislature last week mainly to broadside levied at the companies. His attacks ranged from allegations of shoddy accounting to illegal lending practices by the firms. Eagle also insisted that the services were necessary because the three companies had violated Ontario laws by providing misleading information to some 75 per cent of the value of the apartments, which he estimated to be \$300 million. Eagle charged that at the time of the takeovers the three firms were in serious financial difficulty. Crown, he said, was no longer a "viable" company because about \$330 million of its investments was unaccounted. And Seaway and Greyhound were considered to be in even worse financial shape, the minister charged.

At the same time, uncertainty grew over the future of Crown and Greyhound, last week at their owners, Leonard Rosenberg, threatened with government officials who were attempting to sell the firms to "new acceptable ownership." Indeed, on Saturday the major stakes for Crown were delivered a letter containing the government's terms for a sale. The firms were thought to include Ontario-based Rotmans Ltd. and Victoria and Grey Trustco Ltd., First City Trust of Vancouver and Triple Five Corp. of Richmond. Rosen-

berg President Harold Livergant confirmed receipt of the letter, which was a deadline of Sunday noon for a response. Meanwhile, Rosenberg accused the government of failing to "seek the highest bidder" and said he would seek a court order to liquidate both Crown and Greyhound. But, as Rosenberg fought the government on the front, another battle erupted. This one involved Rosenberg's attempt to merge Crown and Greyhound, which was blocked by the Ont-



Rose: illegal lending practices are alleged

insurance protection, retroactively, to \$60,000 from \$50,000, that had hardly allayed the fears of large investors, including Ontario municipalities with millions of dollars at stake. Not only that, but tenants of the apartments were alarmed by news that the management of the apartments might change hands again. For now, William Flanagan, head of Kildrich Investments, manages the units through a subsidiary company, Mayfield Property Management Inc. Flanagan bought the properties from Rosenberg for \$312 million, would then for \$300 million to a series of numbered companies, and entered into a complicated 10-year lease-back arrangement with the new owners. Now, International Capital & Development Corp., a New York-based investment company, has entered the scene, revealing that it had reached an agreement in principle to acquire Mayfield.

One of the most intriguing elements in the whole affair is the identity of the Saudi investors who are believed to own the properties. Members of the RCMP and Ontario Provincial Police are still searching for the real owners, whose identities have been obscured by the fact that there are many companies registered in Luxembourg.

If the owners are eventually found, perhaps the investigations can determine whether a Royal Canadian Mounted Police investigation is warranted, as it has been said, if so, where Accountants who were assigned the task of auditing the used firms were found last week that they cannot find the money. Meanwhile, the embarrasment firms had two prominent Tories to bail out of Rosenberg's troubled companies. Former Ontario attorney general John Clement resigned from Crown's board of directors, and David Cooper, a former minister of justice for Stephen Mulroney, quit as president of Greyhound Trust.

At week's end no charges had been laid against the move actors in the deal, a though criminal charges will remain a strong possibility. For his part, Rosenberg, who is staying in a plush Palm Beach, Fla., mansion, did admit last week that he knows he has stretched the law. Whether he broke it is one of many questions that may ultimately be decided in court. □



Apple upstages its rivals

By David Thomas

In its short dynamic life, the personal computer industry has outpaced itself to the leading edge of the information revolution. Since Apple Computer Inc. of California appeared on the scene in 1977 with the first highly successful microcomputer, competition for a share of the burgeoning North American, European and Asian markets has grown steadily more fierce. About two months ago another company unveiled its latest computer, boasting of superior response, greater ease of operation or elegant styling. But last week the pioneering Apple company broke even more ground with the introduction of Lisa, a desk-top machine that the company says represents a quantum leap over anything produced by its competitors.

The special attraction of Lisa, which will sell for \$14,900 a set in Canada, is its ability to depict the last requirements of computer phobias among its intended users—corporate executives. Says Apple Canada Vice-President David Kilham, "We certainly have the largest corporate office of the future in mind." Indeed,

Lisa is aimed primarily at comforting managers who are eager to take advantage of the increasing and information-processing ability of computers but who are often deterred by the prospect of mastering their intricacies. The drawback for some executives has been the need to develop typing skills to use computer keyboards. But Lisa eases that concern by reducing the keyboard to secondary importance. Instead, a small, hand-held device called a "mouse" is used to issue commands. By moving the mouse, the operator directs a pointer on the screen to a desired word or symbol. Then, simply by pressing a button, the operator can do anything from changing the type style to instantly creating a graph. Predictably, Lisa has already attracted the desktops who are crucial to its success—retailers who can make or break a product because of their influence over buyers. Says Eric Fletcher, director of marketing for the Canadian retailing chain Computer Brocade: "As soon as I get my hands on a Lisa, I'm clearing every other bit of equipment off my desk."

If Lisa's unveiling last week caused a stir among computer aficionados, it also increased predictions of an imminent shakeup in Canada's \$200-million personal computer industry. As competition heats up among the major U.S. firms that dominate the Canadian market, and as more Japanese and domestic entrants join the fray, some experts are already trying to pick the survivors. Market analyst Ralph Miller of Toronto's First Marwick & Partners likes the action to be over by the end of the automobile market in the 1980s. He predicts that smaller companies will be squeezed out of production by the larger firms' marketing powers. Says Miller: "The winners will be the firms that can satisfy the needs of software [programs], service and support while weathering the inevitable price wars."

Many unveiled Lisa: computer phobia

Those winners may be discovering the Canadian firms, which have a meagre three-per-cent share of the market, as well as the dominant U.S. manufacturers. But other industry analysts are far more optimistic. They argue that the market for personal computers in business schools and the home is still as open as there is room for everyone new in the industry, and even for new entrants. Evans Research Corp. of Toronto, for one, predicts a 10-per-cent annual growth rate for the Canadian industry.

While experts debate the industry's prospects, the major competitors in Canada are fighting not only to survive but to enlarge their market shares. Apple's new offering is widely seen as the firm's response to its major rival, arena-and-play-oriented Personal Computer (PC). When it made a belated 1982 entry to the scene, the PC, which sells for about \$4,800, set the industry standard for performance and appearance and quickly gained a dominant share of the market. But if the PC added a newly needed respectability to the industry by virtue of its tin label, the pioneer for pricing is the Osborne, a computer produced by Osborne Inc. of California that can also use the mouse. The Osborne looks like a military field radio, and costs \$2,500, complete with software.

For its part, Commodore Business Machines Ltd. has made inroads in nonbusiness areas. Commodore began as a Canadian company in 1968 but is now registered in the Bahamas and runs from Switzerland and California. Its desk-top computers now dominate the North American home and classroom markets and the European business market as well. And this winter Commodore will introduce the first PC into the North American business sector with a new machine that, it says, will offer a better price-performance ratio than its competitors.

If that is the case, more turbulence

will be added to an already volatile market. Last year alone, while first ordered over its enlarged share, Commodore's share dropped from 39 to 15 per cent, according to *Business Week*. At the same time, Apple's share dropped from 71 to 18 per cent, and Radio Shack's plummeted from 40 to 25 per cent. In all the jostling, however, total sales grew for every major firm, adding credence to predictions of economic growth for the industry.

Not only that, there are encouraging signs that Canadian firms are acquiring lucrative niches by offering innovative products. Intel Corp. of Canada, Ont., has unveiled the first of a hybrid desktop computer and telephone unit—an obvious executive combination that is not available elsewhere. Another firm, Ottawa's Dynalogue Info-Tech Corp., began shipment this week of its Hypernet, a shock portable computer whose strategic attraction is that, while looking remarkably like a miniature *Lois*, it can run software written for the Lisa's established line, the IBM Personal Computer.

Vancouver's Ibase Software Group Inc. is also making the most of the IBM wave with a series of PC programs marketed under license in the United States by a major software distributor. The so-called *Rap Family* package, written by the 55-employee Vancouver firm, includes nine PC programs scheduled for full distribution this winter. More than 2,500 copies of the first two—a \$700 word-processing program called *Rap-Writer* II and an \$1,000 electronic file cabinet called *Rap-File*—were sold last month, according to Ibase Software Vice-President Norm Francis. Another Canadian IBM imitator is Nelson Data Corp. of Toronto, which won a crucial agreement from Computabank Corp. to sell Nelson's new *Persona* personal computer on IBM hardware. With a software package that, separately, would cost almost as much as the computer itself, the *Persona* sells for about \$1,500.

One way in which Canadian firms may find more room to manoeuvre is by using what Linda Lee of Evans Research calls "a new distribution channel." Freelance computer consultants and some small manufacturers have already bypassed crowded mass shelves and sought out potential customers themselves. Lee predicts that by 1989 half of all microcomputer product sales will be made through direct marketing. Such ventures help bolster the view that the boom in personal computer sales is only just beginning. "In Ottawa, it is the small companies and an optimistic outlook that is the alternative to a depressed condition," there will be companies that fail. "They will be companies that fail," says, "but it is very easy for a firm to get in and take a sizeable profit for a few million dollars." ◇

The new plans for recovery

The growing menace of the world's debt crisis finally forced co-ordinated action last week among a group of financial leaders who are more often inclined to disagree. With little dissent, a Paris meeting of treasury and finance ministers from the Group of Ten—the West's richest nations—quickly approved an almost 200-per-cent increase in the International Monetary Fund's emergency loan facility. They also pledged that they will also encourage their governments to expand the IMF's overall reserves by nearly 50

to borrow from the fund. By contrast, last week's accord transforms the G-10 into something far more like the large-scale emergency fund suggested by U.S. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan in the wake of Mexico's near-default last August. Now, any IMF member whose debt problems are seen as a threat to the stability of the international monetary system will be eligible for rapid G-10 assistance. The new money will come from the Group of Ten and possibly Saudi Arabia. The ministers vowed to pursue for a "substantial" in-



Regan (left), Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker in the foreground, a global safety net.

per cent. The institution, long favoured by France and Canada, but opposed until recently by the Reagan administration, were aimed at bolstering the IMF's ability to act as the world's financial lifeline. At the same time, they were intended to encourage nervous Western bankers to continue lending to debt-strapped Third World nations. The decisions have immediate relevance for the Third World. But more important, they represent the first indication of an emerging co-ordinated global response to the world recession.

The first tangible result of the meeting will be an expansion of the resources of the IMF's General Arrangements to Borrow from \$7.1 billion (U.S.) to almost \$19 billion and making the G-10 available to all 140 fund members. In the past the G-10 was limited to a supplementary fund designed to provide the IMF with lendable cash whenever other resources fell dangerously low. Only Group of Ten member nations contributed and only they were eligible

to borrow from the fund. By contrast, last week's accord transforms the G-10 into something far more like the large-scale emergency fund suggested by U.S. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan in the wake of Mexico's near-default last August. Now, any IMF member whose debt problems are seen as a threat to the stability of the international monetary system will be eligible for rapid G-10 assistance. The new money will come from the Group of Ten and possibly Saudi Arabia. The ministers vowed to pursue for a "substantial" in-

crease in the IMF's lending capacity at the fund's board meeting in Washington next month. This action may bolster IMF funds from the current maximum \$67.2 billion to almost \$100 billion—a clear indication of the enormous borrowing that Western finance ministers anticipate from hard-pressed Third World nations. Together with the increased activity of the Fund-based Bank for International Settlements, which played a key role in rescuing Mexico last year, the Paris accord is a major step toward assembling a global safety net for debtor nations and Western banks, both of which could be weakened by a series of major international defaults.

Perhaps most important, the endorsement of bank anxiety in Paris last week indicated that the alternative to co-operation between industrial nations is becoming clearer daily: a sickening slide from the current recession into a slow-motion replay of the 1930s. ◇

BUSINESS WATCH

The potential of pay TV

By Peter C. Newman

Most of the public has narrowed its view of pay TV to the launch of pay TV in Canada. But there has been considerable discussion of the public's interest in the service since those House Pay-TV bills were being reported on First Choice. The new media's real significance is not in houses (the programming) but in the technology itself.

Pay TV is really all about allowing into the home a two-way communication device that books its programs into a brand-new world. At least half the 4.5 million cable households in Canada will eventually opt for such books, creating a business both for cable companies and their software suppliers. The key is a bar-code called a Z-Tec, which is being purchased by the more sophisticated Canadian systems, including Rogers Cablevision Inc. and Atlantic Cable TV Ltd. The boxes are basically downloading units but they will eventually provide an essential two-way link that will turn home TV screens into microcomputers.

The Z-Tec are adaptable to an astounding variety of functions way beyond their pay application. Each box has a particular address, selected by the cable company's master computer, which records whether or not the customer has paid the bill and how many channels have been ordered. (It has the potential of peering up 100 channels, though most of the boxes will be programmed for an expanded 10.)

Due to be added to the pay channels next year will be three new "boxes," including a Canadian all-news outlet, a special sports channel and a stereo music station. These will be the first of what may be seen as a new wave of pay TV services, including two-way services as burglar and fire alarms and even medical alert. Rogers, one of the industry's leaders, is already marketing such boxes through its U.S. cable operation.

Already the Z-Tec is being used in the home, not only for burglar and fire alarms, but also for burglar and fire alarms, transmitting information to the cable company's base office. In its medical mode, the box can be connected to a chest monitor worn by heart patients. It constantly monitors the body's pulse and sends danger warnings directly to a neighborhood hospital. One option, now operational in Palm Springs, Calif., dispatches an ambulance to the home of a stricken cable subscriber while a computer replaces the driver with the patient's medi-

cal history and the pertinent prescriptions. To keep out burglars or attackers, home screens are monitored at six-second intervals. At the sign of danger, two armed cameramen, accompanied by a watching DeMunnis, are sent out to investigate.

Another gimmick, becoming an increasingly important revenue producer is none of the more mature U.S. systems, is an extra "pay-per-view" chan-

nel which will be shipping, with housewives and househusbands wishing through video-disc catalogues to do their food and other types of purchasing, and then having it all delivered and billed. Telebanking is an early possibility, as an ad-truck promoted betting, with fans able to eye the odds they've put their money on without having to visit the track.

In its experimental hookup of 300 homes in London, Ont., Rogers has already demonstrated how the system can be used for public opinion polling, with subscribers signalling their views on municipal or federal issues to a central computer that provides instantaneous feedback for the focused politician involved. (The prospect of having citizens constantly voting on policy alternatives could drastically alter the way we are governed, with plebiscitary anarchism ruling the roost.)

Viewers can already get hold of specialized information, through videotex, or *On Demand*, Rogers' system in Portland, Ore., for instance, produces a series of images (the Telidon graphics) identifying local tennis courts, Italian restaurants or any other community features. "Hippies" is already on tap in the company's *Demotex*, Ont. hook, which, with 24 television games started on cable, is in the cable computer. For \$9 a month subscribers can play any number of these addictive time-wasters.

Most interesting is the notion being pioneered by Nabe Manufacturing Corp. of Ottawa that makes macroprocessors and keyboards for use with cable options. They could reduce the cost of home computers to about \$450. This is the most awesome dimension of pay TV's future: the marriage of home computers with cable systems, allowing viewers to access central data banks around the world. It sounds familiar, but we're hearing it again, this time with the hardware or bus.

Pay TV will ultimately not only change the way we entertain ourselves but the way we earn our living and, eventually, the way we exist as individuals and as families. "People will be able to work out at their homes, changing the structure of the family unit," Watson predicts. "It could signal the resurgence of cottage industries, with people doing mail-in informational work."

Maybe *DeMunnis* impulses, no matter how sophisticated, will never replace magazines. After all, you can't owl files with a TV set.



Waters, more than just a housewife.

nal. It allows subscribers (at an extra \$15 a crack) to push an order button for such special events as boxing championships, the recent *Lawless* Toronto concert by The Who and band-on-disc films. "The real future of pay TV," says John E. Covert Watson, president of Rogers Cablevision, "is that special type of service. Eventually, we're going to become a nation-wide theatre."

Another eventual cut for the two-way



Swingers in search of past glories

By Lorne Rubenstein

It has been a long time since Canada's old guard was tournaments on the men's Professional Golf Association (PGA) tour. George Knudson's last PGA victory—out of eight in his career—was 11 years ago. Al Johnston's last was came 21 years ago. Stan Leonard's in 1946, and Al Balderson's in 1957. And throughout the 1960s and 1970s Knudson was the only Canadian in legitimate contention. Then, as Knudson's familiar figure—prescription sunglasses, cigarette dangling—gradually faded from Canadian and U.S. TV screens on winter weekends,

a group of young golfers emerged to take his place as the country's golfing standard-bearers. Now, as the 1980 season moves into its fourth event, there are five Canadians—Don Hallidore, Dave Barr, Ben Neilford, Richard Zokol and Ray Stewart—in the heat.

Hallidore has been the most successful so far. The 30-year-old B.C.er, Mac, broke into the rarefied winner's circle at the Trans-Canada Open in 1980 and in the past three seasons he has won nearly \$300,000 in prize money. Last week he was named the outstanding Canadian playing professional for 1980, for the second year in a row. After his one victory, Hallidore teamed up with Neilford to win the World Cup of Golf in Bogota, Colombia, the first time Canadians won the event since the 1968 Canadian-British triumph in Rome. While Knudson's peers considered him the best ten-to-green player on the tour, and the bespectacled Hallidore is acknowledged as the leader of the new Canadian, Neilford shows the most early promise. Hand-some, charismatic and cheered on by his fan club, the Neilford Navy, he won the 1975 and 1976 Canadian and joined the tour in 1979. But since then he has been plagued by a shoulder injury and erratic play in the critical third and fourth rounds.

Now 32, Neilford has his best season in 1980, winning \$48,888 to place 94th on the money list. While the Navy waited for Neilford, Barr, who also joined the tour in 1979, was in 1981 the Quad Cities Open victory in a dramatic eight-hole playoff was, he confessed, "totally unexpected. It came out of the blue." Barr was so overwhelmed that, rather than playing in the next event, he took a two-week drive to Toronto to regroup in the Canadian Open. Barr faded quickly after his singular success. Last year the 30-year-old Kelowna, B.C., native was only \$12,674.

Meanwhile, the stock of the staid golf establishment in a rowdier Vancouver, "Dino Dink" Zokol, who has earned more than Barr. When Zokol first

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Vancouver looking off. I can't believe that I feel sorry for them, but I do.

strade a few fairways in mid-July wearing earplugs hooked to a cassette player, it was as if he sported orange hair and Dirty Bobbers. Dino Dink, 24, quickly earned his nickname and the status of traditionalist (Golf World, the weekly U.S. magazine, described him as a "refugee from the beach"). But the strategist at heart worked for Zokol. The name quelled the turbulence in the rookie's mind, and he finished fifth in his debut, then went on to win \$15,111. He now has a deal with a major sports manufacturer in the works.

Meanwhile Stewart is an unknown quantity from the less competitive and less lucrative Asian tour. But the 36-year-old Vancouverite does have spe-

riors at home who will provide the \$10,000 it will cost him to follow the tour.

While riches await golf's competitive players, the lot of the tour majority, and of most Canadians, is not all sweet meat and Sunday psyches. In his first year Zokol recalls competing with 125 others for 36 available spots at last year's Phoenix tournament and with 150 for six positions at the Bay Hill Classic in Orlando, Fla. Zokol—and the other "rabbits" who were forced to chase around the United States for Monday qualifying rounds—rarely made expenses. After failing two Mondays in a row Zokol recalls that he and other rabbits were "down in the dumps. The atmosphere was so bad. I spent most of my time alone in my hotel room thinking, 'Welcome to the tour. Thank you very much to the tour.'"

The PGA eliminated the Monday chase this season. Golfers such as Hallidore and Barr, who have won titles since 1977, and those like Neilford, who finished in the top 150 on the money list last year, can now play in virtually every tournament. Zokol and Stewart, who placed in the top 50 at a special qualifying school, can play in most tournaments. But, even with much of the uncertainty about where they will be the following week, at last ever, Knudson does not envy his successors. "It's still a

lousy life," Knudson said in Toronto, where he now runs a successful golf school. "I can't believe I feel sorry for them, but I do. Sure, whatever there is on the tour did capture me, and I did it go through the divorce and the things people go through on the tour. Still, what a sacrifice I made being away from home all these years! I look back now and say, 'You were really so a wild trip took their sweetest year.' It seems so now, it frightens me."

The wild trip and the sacrifice are still ahead for the new Canadian swimmers. At the 1980 season begins in the southern states, they are alone among their countrymen in hoping for a sub-par year. ☐



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Taking a kick at the big time

It was Toronto's first world championship prize fight in a decade and it ended because of a left foot Joe Yeo Thirskall knocked out fifth-round Steve Mackey of Kansas City to retain his Professional Karate Association (PKA) world middleweight kickboxing title, a sport popularized in the United States on cable television.

Boasted by a \$40,000 promotion budget from Malcom Brewster Ltd., 7551 Promenade in Ottawa, the Toronto fight's promoters, billed the city's radio, television and newspapers and a week of pre-fight hype aimed at the boxing and wrestling crowd. At a press conference eight days before the encounter, the message was clear. As the 35-year-old Thirskall said, "If we can make it here [in Toronto], we've got it made." Backed by the PKA, the promoters, mindful of a week in which the American Medical Association urged a ban on the "profiter" sport of boxing, stressed safety: a standing eight count, two-minute rounds, and a 12 round maximum. Also they promised to injury more serious than a broken jaw in 10,000 fights. "We want to introduce it to Toronto the right way," said John Thierien, president of PKA and Thirskall's manager.

"The right way" featured Thirskall and another match won by superheavyweight Leo Looka of London, Ont. Paced the blood that covered Looka's face in the final two rounds to the recently clad girls signaling the rounds, the scene bore a remarkable resemblance to kick-boxing's more conventional cousin, San Antonio Athletics Commissioner and former boxer Clyde Gray and afterword. "I think they have a long way to go. I think it's a bad."

Gray's comments were taken compared to those of Jay T. Will, director of referee certification for the PKA and the referee Thursday. "The potential for serious damage is great," he said. Will is not alone. "About a year and a half ago we decided we didn't want to get involved with it," said David Brown, chairman of the Vancouver Athletic Commission. "We didn't like the rules and were afraid of people getting hurt." Yet in Edmonton there is little concern. In this part of the world the PKA has a close ally, the RCMP.

For now, Canada has a world champion in handsome Thirskall, who has 38 wins (38 by knockout) and three losses on his record. Despite the paid attendance of 5,400 in Toronto, the jury is still out on whether kick-boxing has made it or will go the way of all fads.

—IAN LEBER in Toronto

The mob, a death and the NFL

It has not been a good year for the National Football League. The trouble started before the season began with a dramatic report of drug abuse by former and current players. Then the players got in detoxification centres went on strike, costing the league millions of dollars and tens of thousands of fans. And then, as the final four teams prepared for last weekend's games and action in the week's Super Bowl, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in the United States aired An Uncensored History of the NFL, raising the spectre of the Mafia as the real power behind the league.

The allegations and innuendoes of the broadcast could trigger the league more than any of its current or past scandals. The most damning charge, based on a taped interview with convicted gambler John Paton (who, 700 says, passed a lie detector test but admits he was paid for his comments), was that 12 NFL games were fixed between 1968 and 1978 by using payoffs of as much as \$500,000 per game to a coach, a quarterback and a defensive team captain. None of the principals nor the games involved was identified, nor Commissioner Peter Rose, who was announced on the program, stated after its airing, "There is a

big difference between collusion and referees, and going to court with evidence."

Equally sensational was the program's suggestion that former Los Angeles Rams owner Carroll Rosenbloom did not drown in 1979 but was pulled to his death in the water off Florida by someone wiring a wet suit. Canadian tourist, Raymond Tanguay, and his friend, Rosenbloom, called for help and, when he swam near him, saw "a black object about five feet long and 20 inches wide" in the water near Rosenbloom. Tanguay added, however, "It might have been a man, it might have been a fish or a bat." The program said that before his death Rosenbloom had a business flying bets from Los Angeles to Las Vegas, where they can be placed legally, and that one bet amounted to \$1 million. But the man who did not mention Tanguay's statement in Montreal before the broadcast that he was skeptical of the theory that Rosenbloom was murdered.

The show's charges that 12 games were fixed have not been verified nor have the names been identified. Robert Martin, one of Las Vegas' top gambling officials, who was interviewed on the program, stated after its airing, "There is a



Rosenbloom allegations and innuendoes

an \$800,000 payoff to the players and coaches. They would have to bet \$5 million on a game, maybe more. That's a fairy tale. If I wanted to bet on a game and cover the whole United States with the money [place it with bookies], I would have serious problems getting more than \$500,000." On the eve of the 17th Super Bowl, and at the end of the NFL's most troubled season, the speculations have been cast and doubts planted across North America. The only option left to the NFL is to prove that the charges are unfounded or to take them seriously and begin a rapid housecleaning.

—HAL QUINN in Toronto

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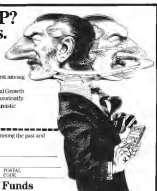
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The new physics takes a hard tumble

Being though it is to any layman, last evening's, the announcement electrified the world's physicists last week. "After 80 days of searching—or 2.4 x 10¹⁶ proton pairs—we have observed no events consistent with proton decay," What excited the scientists gathered at physics conferences in Miami and Rome was the realization that the statement may have jeopardized the work of a generation of physicists by suggesting that the Grand Unified Theories (GUTs)—that ambitious visionary quest to discover unity among the forces of nature—may turn out to be a house of cards. "This is the most important experimental result in a decade," commented one eminent physicist attending the Florida meeting.

With a trillion theory of the new physics now in question—a theory that has spawned an experiment taking millions of dollars—shock waves are spreading throughout the world's scientific community. The tiny world of theoretical physics is often a blackboard universe in which physicists struggle to describe their ideas and theories are extremely difficult to prove. As a result, one model of the subatomic world is often used as a foundation for several more. The renewed of a major building block sparks concern that a decade of confident theorizing about the nature of matter may be a mirage.

During the past decade physicists around the world have constructed a set of theories that attempted to explain the first few seconds of the universe's history and make sense of the multitude of particles that were produced and that make up matter. Each theory grows closer to that instant of creation. The first four physical forces in nature—gravity, electromagnetism and



Salt mine chamber before flooding, Goldhaber (photo), crumpled theories

the strong force, responsible for holding together the nucleus of an atom—decoy or break into smaller bits of matter. Last week's announcement of a negative result of a 34-million experiment designed to find decaying protons in the water-filled depths of the Morton salt mine in Ohio has blasted the entire edifice of the new physics.

As early as 1864 James Clerk Maxwell determined that electricity and magnetism were actually two manifestations of one force. Today, there are four known forces or channels of energy that push and pull matter around. Maxwell's electromagnetic and the two forces uncovered by nuclear physicists in the 1930s. The so-called strong force holds together the quarks inside the protons and

neutrons of the atom's nucleus, and the weak force, responsible for radioactivity, causes atoms nuclei to break apart. The first major step in the progression toward understanding how the four forces came from one was the "unified theory" of Abner Salam, Sheldon Glashow, and Steven Weinberg developed in the 1960s and 1970s. This theory, which has since formed the basis of GUTs, holds that at very high energies, such as those that might have occurred during the formation of the universe, electromagnetism and the weak force become a single force. Although the three physicists won the 1979 Nobel Prize for their theory, the final test for its validity is still under way. The results are far from certain. For three months the largest particle accelerator of its kind in the world, in Geneva, has been hunting for the so-called "W" and "Z" particles which, according to this famous theory, are the carriers of weak atomic force. Late last week Geneva physicists announced that they had found "night events" that "might be" W particles.

Undertaken by lack of experimental proof for the initial unified theory, however, other physicists took the Salam, Glashow, Weinberg concept and extended it into even more elaborate theoretical structures. GUTs GUTs suggests how the strong force might have been unified with electromagnetism and the weak force in the beginning, proceeding along the way that the proton—once believed to be a bastion of stability—actually decays. In addition, the SU (3) GUTs theory predicted the existence in the universe of peculiar, heavy particles called magnetic monopoles—they magnets with only one pole. Yet, without evidence for the "simplest GUTs theory" has come in, other theorists have already begun constructing the ultimate theory that speculates how the fourth and fifth force, gravity, might have evolved with the other three from one mysterious force at the dawn of time. This "super-unified theory" is so rarefied that its suggestions have yet been made about how it might be checked experimentally.

The salt mine experiments were a blow to Harvard Group of Harvard University, whose name, along with Glashow, is most closely associated with the SU (3) GUTs theory. "We are very disappointed," he lamented. "Perhaps this is not enough to kill the theory, but it's very close to that." Weinberg, of the University of Texas, who, more developing the original unified theory has branched off into GUTs, is less pessimistic. He suggests that the theory might be modified to accommodate "a larger distance for the protons or more exotic decay products." Yet most scientists admit that if a theory must be changed, it loses force. University of Toronto theoretical physicist John Moffat was most blunt about it. "It is in its death throes," he said.

To make matters worse, the other less crucial test of the simplest GUTs theory is also in trouble. Last February there was a blow in the physics establishment when Stanford University announced it may have found a monopole. But after passing a larger, improved apparatus for 159 days, Rick Cabrera, the experimenter, reports no results. "If last year's event was real," a realistic Cabrera acknowledged to *Nature*, "we should have seen eight monopoles by this time."

It will be a chastened and more cautious group of theorists that returns to its blackboards this week. Meanwhile, the superstars at the Marion station at Stanford will sit on their laurels and wait for the "W" and "Z" particles. Meanwhile, Glashow, Goldhaber, who conceived of proton decay 38 years ago "GUTs is a beautiful idea. Perhaps one day an experiment will prove it."

—PAT GILBERTSON in Miami.

EDUCATION

A restrained president

In the late 1960s university presidents proudly selected to defend the dignity of higher learning against the onslaught of student radicals. Today, most students associate with only one place. Yet, would change a spate of old-style norms for their current situation—confrontation within the rising burdens of financial problems, a government funding, cushioned with inflation, have forced administrators to become budgetary conservatives. Wherever in the space more severely felt than at the University of Toronto, the country's largest campus with a student population of 60,000. As a result, it was with mixed emotions that Donald Forster, named president-elect at the U of T last week, declared, "I don't know if I deserve congratulations or commiseration."

Now, residence life and student life are explained, "the internal student in Toronto are greater than anywhere else." Forster hopes to shore up the university's financial wounds by tapping the private sector. Outgoing U of T President John Hays says he has already ready to shift the institution's "strategic mission" toward research and to "build stronger bridges to the corporate business world." Noting that the "naïve gang" era is over on campus, Forster states that he has no concerns about external government and more about "how you relate the university to the society."

At the height of the student power struggle, Forster was a senior administrator at U of T and also played the role of financial negotiator. "It was some ways the toughest task they were more creative than the ones we have," he says. "There is almost a sadness about things today, and it's unhealthy." Morale was not improved this year



Forster: the 'naïve gang' era is over on campus

when 165 U of T jobs disappeared among faculty and support staff. After 199 will probably be eliminated next year. Typically, so many as 20 professors in the arts and science departments share a single secretary.

While the U of T provincial funding has dropped over the past decade (when adjusted for inflation) enrolment has increased 30 per cent—largely because of a new generation of long-term "professional students." The cause is a recession that has effectively forced all universities to provide a shelter from shrinking job markets. Notes David Newlin, U of T vice-president for research and planning, "We're conservative. We have to pick up fallen from the recession at a time when we're least able to do it."

By "becoming" for research funds over the past decade, says Newlin, administrators have raised the research grant share of the U of T's \$400-million annual budget to about 39 per cent from 18 per cent. If the university is to maintain its standards, he adds, it will have to lean even more heavily on commercial contracts. Ironically, it was precisely such links between academia and private capital that inflamed the ire of student radicals in a more prosperous era.

—MIKE D. JOHNSON in Toronto.





MEDIA

Battle over the borders

Since its foundation as the world's first environmental magazine in 1968, New York-based *Time* (world circulation over 10 million) has seen a host of new magazines that challenged its early hegemony. Last month the U.S. again acknowledged, perhaps unconsciously, another new addition to its roster, as it published its first issue of a new, Toronto-based weekly which has been publishing since 1972. In a brief letter, *Time*'s Toronto-based parent lawyers charged that the provincial upstart had breached two Canadian trademark requirements: the use of the word "Time" and the use of a red-bordered oval design. The *Report* did not come across as remarkably similar designs, the letter warned. *Time* would take legal action. Says *Time* Byfield, 56, the *Report*'s managing editor, editor and publisher: "We'll be in the court."

The *Report* begins using the red-border cover format in January, 1975, after newsstand sales showed that red sold best. But *Time* maintains that the red border has been its trademark worldwide for more than 60 years. Says *Time*'s lawyer, Daniel Berman: "If not in the past, we will have to litigate."

Brenkert claims that the reason *Time* took five years to press its case against the Report is that its New York lawyers only recently became aware of the Alberta publication. But Hyfield has another theory. He points to the Audit Bureau of Circulation figures for the period from June, 1960, to June, 1962, showing that *Time's* circulation in Alberta stayed roughly the same (about 40,000), while the Report's jumped nearly 3,000 to 40,001 (Maclean's sells 35,000). He believes that *Time* may be

worried about its advertising clout in Alberta. "We're terribly gratified," says a smiling Byfield, "that they [Time] would look down from New York and consider us a problem."

Generally the Times challenge has focused more attention on the lively Alberta weekly. It began publication in October, 1976, on the same day as the *Edmonton Journal*. The *Times* is the voice of the Cross, an Anglican lay order. Its mandate, says Bejford, was to combat "secularist and liberal humanist bias." Most of the early staff members were, he says, "young, idealistic, and very much agreed to work for a dollar a day and live communally." A Calgary counterpart was started in 1977, and the two merged into the Alberta Report in September, 1978. The *Report* focuses on issues, the *Times* focuses on politics, business and the arts—but written from a pro-West perspective. Two personal features that are readers' favorites are "When's Your Turn," which asks people to share their comments, and Byfield's weekly column, in which he lashes out at such perceived enemies of Christianity as the Liberals in Ottawa—"Trotsky and His Gang of Misfits."

"This country's not perfect," says Bejford. "This country's not perfect."

Albertans appear to like the frisky tone. Hyfield notes that after years of debt the Report is finally raising in the black. If the Alberta Report is forced to forsake its cover format, newspaper sales may drop. But until the verdict comes Hyfield appears content to make the most out of his new battle with the U.S. giant.

— **НУЖНА ПОМОЩЬ НА ДОРОЖАХ**

LABOR

A union calls the doctor

The 300 warblers at Noranda's copper mine and smelter in Repre, 640 km northwest of Montreal, sat silently as their former colleague Lawrence Boudry, 46, told them what was in store for them. Boudry's cancer treatment, it will be done in a few weeks. Boudry was one of five Noranda employees whose lung cancer was confirmed by a biopsy in 1984. After a two-and-a-half-day course of chemotherapy, Boudry spent the next eight days of medical treatment in the company town. In June, 1984 four more cancer cases were confirmed, and seven other cases were suspected. The company's medical style team of 118 doctors who specialize in testing workplace health hazards was not expecting to find cases of lung cancer among the union-represented workers at the Repre smelter. The workers had been there for an average of 20 years. But now, 24 years later, the post-released results of the exhaustive study indicate that lung cancer incidence among the workers is "far above what is expected."

The figures themselves, although large, are not remarkable. They mirror statistics documented recently at copper smelters in Europe and the United States and, according to Dr Irving Seligson, who heads the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's toxicology branch, "the U.S. figures are, in fact, thought, may be partly due to the workers' exposure to arsenic, which is released during copper-ore processing. What is more unusual is how the reports come from a country that has a strong health and safety legislation in December, 1979, specifying government, employer and union participation before public funds could be contributed to occupational health studies." The contractors included Noranda, and successfully secured government money for the project. Noranda's director of industrial relations, Normand Gosselin, said last week:

It wasn't too surprising that we had a lot of interest in the project. It was very important to us that the study be requested to be carried out. According to Canadian Labour Congress spokes-

The study was born during a bitter 18-month recontamination battle at the

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A Confederation storm in Newfoundland

After whispering frantically to his companion through half of the presentation, former Newfoundland premier Joey Smallwood could barely let it be longer. Rising from his seat in the Arts and Culture Centre in St. John's a fortnight ago, he responded to Newfoundland historian Philip McCann's lecture by thundering, "This excluded story, this silly, stupid story that the British schemed that they engineered... this is the last word in idocy." The subject of Smallwood's wrath was McCann's contention that British mandarins—aided by Joey Smallwood—had engineered Canada's postwar absorption of Newfoundland.

The British-born historian of the University of Toronto's career in recently declassified British government documents. For the first time, those documents lend factual credibility to rumors that have been circulating during the past 30 years that Britain conspired desperately to rid itself of its financial millstone—Newfoundland—McCann's evidence also undermines the long-held belief that Smallwood single-handedly saved Newfoundland from forever losing drift in the sea of neglected "colonialism." As a result, Newfoundland academics and politicians last week were facing a full-blown historical controversy.

Two years ago, while McCann was researching a book in London, he stumbled across a series of British treasury department documents. Those papers showed that the British treasury was reluctant to fund Newfoundland's postwar reconstruction because Britain could barely afford to fund its own debts. Besides, Britain feared that the United States, which had offered to help Britain out of its own massive reconstruction debts, would balk at Britain's spending an estimated \$300 million to Newfoundland. As a result, in 1948 Britain dispatched Alexander Chubbuck, then a Dominion Office secretary, to meet with Canadian officials to convince them to take New-



Smallwood in 1948: hero or colonial catalyst?

foundland of its funds. Chubbuck, claims McCann, "was forced to sit aside diplomatic niceties and make an undiplomatic appeal to Canadian self-interest, placing [the] values of Labrador and sovereignty on the table." Indeed, British advisor John Maynard Keynes, when told of the potential \$300-million Newfoundland bailout, said "[it] must be a misprint for \$10 million. [It] is better so regarded." Then, in 1946 Britain announced a national convention, composed of elected Newfoundland representatives, that was to decide on a form of government for the colony. The result was two referendums that led to legislation joining Newfoundland to Canada on March 31, 1949.

McCann's version of events directly contradicts the conventional view that Joey Smallwood spearheaded the colony out of Britain's reluctant hands in the traditional version, Smallwood's decision is cited for election to the National Convention in 1948 initiated the

popular stampede toward Confederation that McCann argues that the move "must be seen as an aspect of a larger scenario rather than being an important peculiarity in its own right." He adds that daily broadcasts of convention proceedings are what helped catapult Smallwood, the only experienced broadcaster of the 45 delegates, into the limelight. The broadcasts also gave him an added advantage over his major opponents, those who demanded return to Newfoundland self-rule government, last enjoyed in 1804, and those, like Donald Jamieson, currently Canada's high commissioner in London, who feared "economic disaster" with the United States. But McCann's theory that Smallwood was only a colonial catalyst received widespread support. Peter Neary, a historian at the University of Western Ontario, agrees that conspiracy theories abound in Newfoundland at the time. "I have seen lots of evidence that Britain and Canada had opinions about what the future of Newfoundland should be," Neary says. "But that does not mean that they pushed Newfoundland into Canada. There's a leap there that I would not make."

For his part, Smallwood last week charged that McCann's version of events was "doctored." While the sub-editor McCann regrets the flap, his response to Smallwood is, "I was disappointed that he didn't make some points that I raised I salvaged off the insults." Although McCann may be unhappy with the storm, Newfoundlanders rely on yet another political deity, Roger Newfoundland journalist Ray Gray. "I hope McCann keeps it up something may have been avoided."

The interest in McCann's revisionist theory is understandable. The light to bring Newfoundland into Confederation was long and bitter, with many nationalist and independence opposed. Indeed, McCann turned up one British memo written just before the final 1948 Confederation referendum that asked the British admiralty if it would be wise to station a British warship in St. John's harbor in the event of a post-Confederation civil unrest. As it is, unsubstantiated rumors still persist that a British conspired to rig the final Confederation vote tally so that it appeared that 52 per cent of the voters favored Confederation.

Ray Gray says that he is fully aware of that kind of rock-ribbed suspicion. Even his 35-year-old nephew, says Gray, refers to Confederation as "The Great Wrong," since what aching in Newfoundland has gone right. Given that sort of sentiment, it is not surprising that Newfoundland's recent unhappy relationship with Ottawa, the controversy is not likely to fade into history.

—RANDOLPH JONES in St. John's

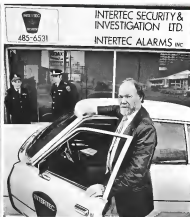
The relentless growth in private cops

By Delira Black

When a United Steelworkers local in Windsor, Ont., discovered last February that a private security firm had infiltrated the union's membership, Ontario labor leaders were concerned and last fall they issued an urgent call for legislation to curb the powers of Canada's growing armies of security police. The effort resulted in an unprecedented union labor practices complaint under the Ontario labor board which will be heard this week. The case is only one of a number of incidents that have civil libertarians and provincial politicians worried about a burgeoning industry that, new laws will see security guard or investigator for every public police officer across the country in Ontario alone, licensed private security personnel have almost doubled in the past decade to 18,000 and to the revision causes were belittling by municipal police forces, experts believe that provincially licensed "rent-a-cop" firms will mushroom in the years to come. That, in turn, has prompted several provinces to tighten the laws that regulate them.

Over the past year Clifford Shearing, an associate professor at the University of Toronto's Centre of Criminology, has conducted a study, which will be completed this month, of the industry's growth. Shearing, who has watched the Canadian private security industry for the past decade, agrees that police cutbacks have contributed to the security guard explosion. But he says there is a much larger phenomenon at play: the boom in shopping malls, condominiums, office towers and apartments. Development in Toronto's Eaton Centre, which faces privately owned public places or "mini-villages" have created a new security and policing need. Adds Maurice Martin, a senior manager of research and program development at Ottawa's Canadian Police College: "Private security is a crime response, so there is less of a burden on police in terms of manpower."

Private security guards, whether they are uniformed or undercover, have little more authority over the law than do ordinary citizens, Shearing says. While they are actually employed to deter such petty crimes as department store shoplifting and shopping mall vandalism, they have also been called in to perform more controversial duties, such as supervising employees or controlling strikes. Their on-the-job training is minimal, lasting anywhere from a few hours to a week. Some provinces even allow them to carry handguns. What is more, under their mandates they are required to notify only their employers—not the police—of any wrongdoing. Often, crimes detected by security personnel never reach the courts because ser-



Martin (below), "The tougher things get, the busier the industry becomes."

ious crimes, Shearing says. While they are actually employed to deter such petty crimes as department store shoplifting and shopping mall vandalism, they have also been called in to perform more controversial duties, such as supervising employees or controlling strikes. Their on-the-job training is minimal, lasting anywhere from a few hours to a week. Some provinces even allow them to carry handguns. What is more, under their mandates they are required to notify only their employers—not the police—of any wrongdoing. Often, crimes detected by security personnel never reach the courts because ser-

VICES frequently choose to deal with the matter privately, a situation that Toronto Assistant Crown Attorney Norman Courtney sees as being "against the public interest."

Civil libertarians are also worried about the impact of the private security industry on individual freedoms and civil liberties. Toronto criminal lawyer Clayton Eady is concerned about the failure of the new Ontario Bill of Rights and Freedoms to have jurisdiction over the industry. "The growth of private security takes you out of the protection provided in the charter," says Eady, who adds that the areas of activity that formerly would have been headed by police departments and would have allowed these protections are now increasingly being taken over by the private forces in Stouffville, M.B. For instance, security guards were hired during a police strike last month. So far, labor unions—which fear decisions have accused private security





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forms of surveillance—have complained loudly about the industry. In a report released last fall the United Steelworkers of America urged the Ontario government to conduct an inquiry into the private security industry and called for legislative changes.

Industry members are sensitive to these concerns. Says Ronald Harvey, president of the Calgary-based security firm Special Investigation Consultants: "We don't condone agent provocateurs and won't endorse it as a practice in our member companies." Private security police should abide by the same principles as regular police in handling civil liberties, he says. The firms that do not, Harvey adds, quickly find themselves out of business.

While civil libertarians and labor leaders cannot stop the growth of the industry, most want more effective regulations. At the moment each province has its own licensing statute that is enforced by either the provincial police or the RCMP. Ruly believes that method of regulation is "seriously inadequate." He says that although there are provisions for investigations of any abuse, most regulatory agencies do not perform them. Research by the U of T's Shearing indicates that as a national basis the policing of private security is ineffective because the regulatory agencies are overworked and underfunded. However, there is an urgent need for making the industry more accountable through industry self-regulation and public input, Shearing says. But ultimately that comes in one "for protestant politicians to deal with."

In fact, many provincial governments are now grappling with the problems British Columbia recently put into effect: new legislation that requires more training for all licensed security personnel. Alberta is in the process of enacting new legislation with "a little more teeth" in it, says Harvey. Ontario is also expected to make some changes that will curtail questionable security guards.

Eventually, the private security industry will have a profound impact on public policing, Shearing says. He also believes that police officers will come away from monitoring public places and individuals and concentrate on watching corporations. Industry members themselves believe that they will perform an increasing role in crime prevention in the coming years. Says Hal Flinn, president of the Ontario-based Institute Security and Investigation Ltd.: "The tougher things get, the better the industry becomes." It is just such a perspective that the industry's critics are worried about.

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With Jackie Carter in Toronto



Sutherland and Winesap: the bar between medical progress and human values

FILMS

Mysteries of the heart

THRESHOLD

Directed by Richard Pearce

Threshold is aptly named: it is forever on the verge of saying something. The fictionalized story of the first artificial heart transplant, this Canadian movie is much like its subject, a heart that tries to only get over quite dead. It means to say something profound about the human condition—that there is something mysterious and meaningful about a physical part of ourselves—but it chokes at articulation.

Carol (Marie Winkinham), the young girl who is the recipient of the first artificial heart, falls into a depression after her operation. She feels she is a little less than human afterward; everything she has previously felt, including all the pain, has melted in a part of her now taken away. Her sympathetic doctor, Thomas Vrain (Donald Sutherland), shares her sense of displacement and begs in kind a way to tell her what his device has been interestingly obvious to the audience—that the heart is really a state of mind.

An honorable movie, *Threshold* is also a subtle one, but perhaps too subtle for its own good. The screenwriter, James Sutherland, keeps holding back and denies the audience the epiphany it wants. Carol almost expresses how she feels with a new machine at the centre of her being; Vrain is almost able to express to her his guilt in his complicity in heralding a new medical (and emo-

tionally) age of which he is frightened and unsure. In an early scene the movie makes a game stab at explaining just what the ramifications of the soul of a new machine are. A recipient of a "real" transplanted heart (Michael Lerner) tells Vrain about his doctor: "What color was he? Was the doctor married? How did he live? The owner of the new heart is overcome with an empathy for the pulsating piece of tissue inside him and his eyes meet with tears, while the good doctor is unable to provide answers."

The doctor is caught in the middle of such issues: He is a pragmatist and a scientist on the surface, but his frequent sense of humor is his means of staying sane in the face of the mortality he encounters every day. A mix of medical and human elements, the movie feels on the edge of his field. The excitement he feels on the eve of his momentous feat is spoiled by his sympathies for the human elements that the poignant point is that Vrain does not exactly know what he's doing. Sutherland, in a remarkable and controlled performance, shows how the distinctions between the medical and the human are blurred.

Shot by Michel Brault in soft, available tones, *Threshold* is never less than intelligent. Sometimes it tries too hard; the recipient's last name is Sutherland, the doctor's name is "Vrain"; subtitled by a "TV" with such schemata and the refusal to answer the question it poses, *Threshold* is a movie working with a light touch. —LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

An excessive fate for the Earth

MALEVIL

Directed by Christian de Chalonge

Most films about nuclear Armageddon (Dr. Strangelove, On the Beach) leave the horrors of postwar life to the imagination of the viewer. Malevil plunges into the unspeakable with a courageous malice. When the disaster strikes, the mayor of the French village of Malevil is holding an impromptu political meeting in his wine cellar. Suddenly, the bottles begin to clatter in their racks, and a volcanic roaring fills the air. A house relatively protected by the thick stone walls, the mayor and his friends are now writhing like worms in the scorching heat. Later, they stagger onto a translucent landscape of mud and perpetually falling ash; they are so starved that for days they can barely speak. Paradoxically, for all their terror, these opening scenes are exhilarating: at the outset it seems that de Chalonge is going to be the first filmmaker to show audiences the hell that is locked in nuclear catastrophe.

Madly angry, de Chalonge caricatures his own fathers as the film falls prey to the surrealistic excesses so common in French cinema. The penetrating realism of the early scenes gives way to symbols and picturesque tableaux. Malevil strives to sell consciously to its beautiful, arranging the actors like chesspieces across the ruined hills. Characterization crumbles. One survivor is recognizable only by his shattered glasses, another by his obsession with building a radio. There is no hint of these deeper individuality clues related to each other with the (un)logical superfluity of commentators at a bus stop. Nuclear war starts to seem not so much horrible as merely dull.

Some relief from this boredom is provided when the survivors go to work with a real group that has sheltered itself in a railway tunnel. Led by a rigid, personifying psychopath called Fulbert (played with chilling menace by Jean-Louis Trintignant), these fanatics envision rape, then war and death, up to bombheads in the service of their newfound "freedom." But, rather than maximize the tragic irony of this small but bitter conflict, the Third World War would surely be the war to end all wars, de Chalonge lets the action descend into a series of battle scenes straight out of a Grade B western. Malevil refocuses a dramatic pulse, but at the expense of all thoughtfulness. And, disappointingly, the mystery of life after the bomb remains as dark as ever. —JAMES RESTON



Farmer in a display of reckless Grande as a tastefully sensitive film

A bad girl's decline and fall

FRANCES
Directed by Gwyneth Clifford

Poor Frances Farmer had a decline that soared far beyond her stolid home town, Seattle. She had a mother who would have been at home in a monster hall of fame. With some talent and an attitude that spelled trouble, she handed herself a Hollywood contract in 1935, which launched her high spirit and career ambitions. More interested in the stage than the fake and fractured realities of the screen, she went to New York and had an affair with playwright Clifford Odets, who later dropped her for the more conventional comfort of his wife, Liane Harn. A bad girl who acted from her various emotional burnings, Frances learned not to give a damn and consistently courted trouble. After a convalescent for drunken driving, she broke her parole, assaulted her wardrobe mistress and was soon admitted to a mental institution. Placed in her mother Lilian's custody, Frances was in and out of hospitals until 1950, when she apparently was hospitalized (with Lilian's consent). She returned to the safe, slow and soulless life she so abhorred, finishing her days as an afternoon talk-show hostess.

Such a story would seem to be custom-made for the filmmakers of any screenwriter and, of course, an actress' dream role. Yet the overlong *Frances*, which flows fruitlessly through Farmer's life, is an example of how poorly Hollywood ever serves itself.

FOR THE RECORD

Sweet soul and icy heat

While British pop musicians are falling back on 1960s Motown standards (Phil Collins' *You Can't Hurry Love*, Soft Cell's *When Love Takes Over*) to guarantee hits, the authorities of U.S. black music continue to produce a healthy number of strong recordings. Chief among these is Marvin Gaye's *Midnight Love* (Columbia). In his most acclaimed performance since *What's Going On*, Gaye sings up the sweet soul music that he has been making for more than 20 years with soulful pop, funk, reggae, funk and synthesizer-based pop. This time, however, it is sex, not politics, that makes his world go round. One minute he prattles his heavenly father, the next, he croons with impossible, seductive finesse. "This coming straight for your love baby/Like a rocket, girl," Gaye caresses us as a relief from strife, a salvation on earth. In refreshing contrast to gloomy overtones of war, death and despair, *Midnight Love* is an unadorned hymn to physical union.

Wild, elegant, perverse and only 32, Prince parties deftly in the face of a trademark Armageddon. On his double album *1992* (RCA), he simultaneously celebrates his slenderness, political outrage and his taste for unbridled fun. While the tracks are long (three run more than eight minutes each), the imagination and funky blend of influences from Little Richard to Dore in transgressive spirit, and the singer's voice in wisdom less than awestruckly original. On *Let's Pretend We're Married*, he delivers a rap so only that it makes Miles Jackson, queen of dirty talk, seem plain. On *Prove It*, his childlike falsetto sings an answer to the queen of Yola.

Although she has a decidedly more limited vocal range, Grace Jones shares Prince's theatrical skills. On *Love's My Thing* (WEA), she again shows the style of icy heat that made Marlene Dietrich famous. Since her emergence in 1976, Jones has been a queen of Yola. One married marriage to visual flare, that, like Carole Pope, she has grown in subtlety while keeping her place on the cutting edge of dance club sound. My *Amazons* Guy, which she wrote in prison, makes an easy dance soundtrack. On *The Apple* (A&M), she pictures a queen in New York by Melvin Van Peebles, she recommends that there are few scenes as good as one so convincingly yel. "Wee-wee" — DAVID LIVINGSTON

BOOKS

Going back to the country

ON THE BLACK HILL

By Bruce Chatain
(Academy Press, \$19.95, \$18.95)

Sir Isaac Johnson designated the pastoral form of writing as "easy, vulgar and therefore disgusting." Images of noble shepherds and frolicking lambs may have been too fanciful for an inorganic city dweller such as Johnson, but Thomas Hardy and D.H. Lawrence proved that even in the modern life can incorporate large spiritual and social themes. Their pastoral novels are as profound, in fact, that they left little to say about the clash between progress and rural life; a contemporary novel about the quiet dignity of Welsh sheep farmers is more likely to fall into the realm of eldritch than revolution. However, British writer Bruce Chatain's third book, *On the Black Hill*, proves that if the pastoral novel is dead, there is still enough left in the skeleton for literary writers to nibble fruitfully.

Chatain's pastoral narrative is quaintness. He opens an outrageous miniature out of the "mangled and brutal" lives of Benjamin and Lewis Jones, twins born in 1900 on a sheep farm called The Vices, straddling the Welsh-English border. At the age of 16 the twins take a trip to the seaside with their safety mother, Mary, and their blackguard father, Amos. The excursion proves to be the least of their lives, but their "restrained heroines" only begins their sense of wonder for the world. Lewis dreams of leaving school and trains any object or scene from far away with reverence; he worships a print of a "Red Indian" seen from Canada and keeps a haphazard scrapbook of accounts of strength makes Benjamin "swell to live with Lewis for ever after, to eat the same food, wear the same clothes, share a bed, and swing as one in the new trajectory."

Benjamin's dream is triumphant. His only gilded separation from Lewis is when Benjamin is forced into a short and brutal stint in a nearby work camp during the First World War. The public humiliation of having avoided overseas service makes them retreat to the farm and away from the modern age. After Amos and Mary die, the brothers choose to run the farm, becoming so inseparable that they share the same bed for 45 years.

The plot of *On the Black Hill* is little more than a string of domestic intrigues spread over 36 years. The narrative moves at breakneck speed, the

Masterpiece Theatre on fast forward, neighbors and relatives enter and exit so quickly that sometimes they are less interesting than the objects that surround them. But the strength of the novel is not its overly familiar statement of the value of simple, basic life. Its triumph is the awesome photographic clarity of Chatain's imagination, the same sensibility that transported his *Parangos* far beyond the borders of his native Welsh chateau. Describing the drawing room of a neighbor of the twins, Chatain lovingly charts an economic's domain: "There were 'gerbick' cupboards, a bust of Napoleon, half a suit of armor, an elephant's foot, and any number of bag gone trophies. Polished pelicansos shed their pelted leaves over piles of pamphlets and Country Zephyr. A bulge stood at the bare of its wire, emblems of house-made vice were busy fermenting under the console, while, dotted here and there over the carpet, were the artful stains of midnight pugs." For Chatain, an elephant's foot in Wales is as telling a statement about the 20th century as any social upheaval sometimes quaintness outside its own rewards. —IAN PHILLIPS

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *1914* (Delacorte, \$12.95)
- 2 *Spies* (Macmillan, \$12)
- 3 *Master of the Game*, Strindberg (D)
- 4 *1418* (Delacorte, \$12.95)
- 5 *The Purloined Letter* (Macmillan, \$12)
- 6 *Marina's Daughter*, Armitage (D)
- 7 *Foundations of Power*, Armitage (D)
- 8 *The Moon of Auland*, Morris (D)
- 9 *The Prophet* (Delacorte, \$12.95)
- 10 *The Valley of Horrors*, Judd (D)

Nonfiction

- 1 *Graveyard of the World: Portrait of the Liberal Party*, McGill-McNair (D)
- 2 *The Establishment: Man & Power*, at Power, Newman (D)
- 3 *My We Act Like Citizens*, Strindberg (D)
- 4 *Salon in Renaissance*, Philadelphia (D)
- 5 *Heaven and Hell in the VIL*, Delacorte and Young (D)
- 6 *Twelve of Gold*, Feet of Clay, Strindberg (D)
- 7 *Grapes*, Clancy (D)
- 8 *The Beauty of the Applewood*, Foster (D)
- 9 *Now is the Time*, Mary (D)
- 10 *After and Trepan* (D)
- 11 *For Services Rendered*, Strindberg (D)

(1) Fiction list only

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Why P.E.T. sounds off abroad

By Allan Fotheringham

Zimmer, Dr. Fotheringham, am I ever glad to bump into you so early in the new year. Like, wow.

Articulate the territorial incoherence of your querulous asseverate, if the specificity cannot be suitably parametrized.

Well, yes. I've been completely puzzled by the prime minister's conduct on the Pacific trip.

If God had not intended to have Pierre Trudeau gaily so, he would not have invented him.

But was this trip really necessary?

Absolutely. The prime minister has an acute need, sometimes like someone with a sweet tooth, to regard his flock from afar at nicely spaced intervals.

You're forcing me early on this one.

What I mean is that Mr. Trudeau has an unusual quirk. Unlike most politicians—Lyndon Johnson, the Kennedy, Diefenbaker—he has no outward urge to prove the flesh, to garner his inspiration by plunging into male and being astroked (Joe Clark is not numbered by this rite, either, but Clark's another hawk). Mr. Trudeau, in fact, has the opposite need.

And what, pray tell, might that be?

It is the unconscious desire to move himself as far as is possible from his sheep and then to jump on them. It's called cosmic hawk-kill.

You want...?

That's right. Mr. Trudeau can only say what's really on his mind when he is halfway around the world. An essentially shy man, as his biographers attest, he cannot bring himself to his home, feelings while he is aware his fellow 24 million Canadians are close at hand.

In this a version of the Joe Clark disease?

By George, you've got it. Clark pines when more than 25 people enter a room. Trudeau grows nervous when he is aware the whole country is watching. So he goes abroad and perceives the truth that every other single Canadian is Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southern News*.

either dining or in the Caribbean. I get it. He's a long-distance Malayap.

Right. A mingled misde Eugene Whelan with a dictionary. Seriously, Dr. Foth, what does this hold for us?

Nothing but the best. Billy Martin and George Steinbrenner are back together, the Argonauts are respectable, and Peter Warrington is trying to beat out Peter Wertheim to become the next prime minister of Canada. How could one look for entertainment?

You have nothing else on hold for us?



Of course. The Cosmic Danger will be gone.

You're not drinking...?

Never. Mr. Trudeau has made his decision, and the party, tucked along by President Jose Campagnolo, the who gets into Canada in that she is in the middle, is nudging him that way. Could we have a date, please?

Certainly in the fall. He, as we know, does not like to be pushed. He wants to see if he can get some action, helped by his new 48-million senior, Michelle Trifield, as Senate reform before he goes. Isn't that a good idea?

Of course it is. Most of Mr. Trudeau's ideas are good ones. It's just that his personality, latterly as someone as a buried-wire fence, obscures the goal. Perhaps he doesn't have any help. Is that the problem?

Sure. It's the problem. The only help he has is Marc Lalonde, who, as energy minister (i.e., bringing Alberta to its knees), was all steel wool and prickles

but now, as finance minister, is all honey and ambrosia. He drops caution. And the rest?

The rest of the cabinet, when it is not dining, is trying to fit itself for truck shows. Those who are not dining are hiring elegant, sensitive waitresses, growing out their hair or having a run on German Formula. The whole front bench looks like a priming session before the jester prun.

So what does it all mean?

It means that Marc Lalonde is running the country. The prime minister is a lame duck, planning to go, while the country plans for him to go. He has the weakest cabinet in 50 years, with not a single strong Anglo minister. Only Lalonde, in attempting to rescue the drops of the economy, has belied into submission the sworn servants who ran Allan Rock. Trudeau has about as much interest in economics as he does in basketball, and Lalonde's defense dominates cabinet sessions. He is in charge of everything except Trudeau's loose-lipped comments when abroad.

Does Lalonde want to be prime minister?

Are you kidding? There is not a needling supply of ambition. He is without personal ambition. He only serves his country.

Does anyone else the master of the Conservative party?

The Conservatives are not a party. They are a collection of individuals who all march not only to distant drummers but in conflicting directions, so that in conversation they resemble a regimental drill from a Marx Bros. movie. They have a gift for walking into bayonets, scandalously and with a alleged party.

One final burning question.

Shoot.

Was Mr. Trudeau the guy in the novel?

Get serious. Mr. Trudeau is a caught shape that he would have taught the page, and we would never have heard all the world's shit. It is my duty to protect his reputation.

Dr. Foth, you've been an absolute joy in verifying the modification.

Don't mention it.



Maybe you're teaching them more than you realise.

Teenagers often give the impression that parents have no influence in their lives, that they can handle it all themselves. Well, when the subject is drinking, nothing could be further from the truth. You don't have to take our word for it. Here's what some teenagers have said:

"Everything I know about drinking I learned from my parents."

"They tell me to watch myself at parties, but they forget that advice when they have one of their own."

"I've seen my parents' friends drive home when they really shouldn't have. Why didn't someone suggest a cab?"

"I know drinking and driving is a dangerous thing to do. But I don't under-

stand why it's only dangerous for me, not for my father."

We could go on, but you get the point. Nothing you can say about drinking responsibly is as believable as acting responsibly.

So please. If you won't make the effort for yourself, at least have the good sense to do it for your kids.

Seagram

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